



STATION,
TELEGRAMS, } BISHOP'S
TELEPHONE } STORTFORD.
73.

HADHAM HALL,
LITTLE HADHAM,
HERTS.

31 Dec. 1914

Dear Giuseppe -

I am sending you
what I have been able to
put together about Hadham,
as to a brother Hat, nay,
even as to Prover - to whom
all honour is due -

G. now sends me
proof of pp 1-16 - and evidently
thinks I have had 1st revise
of pp 1-32 - but either he
never sent it, or it has
gone astray - for I have



ARTHUR CAPELL AND HIS FAMILY AT HADHAM. CORNELIUS JANSSEN.

HADHAM HALL
AND THE MANOR OF
BAWDES ALIAS HADHAM PARVA
IN THE COUNTY OF
HERTFORDSHIRE.

BY
WILLIAM MINET

M·A F·S·A

M·CM·XIV

A MAN SHALL EVER SEE THAT
WHEN AGES GROW TO CIVILITIE
AND ELEGANCIE MEN COME TO
BUILD STATELY.

BACON.

PREFACE.

Every owner of an old house, and more especially when that house has been the centre of a manor, becomes, in turn, quasi-trustee of its history as well as of its fabric. The following pages are an attempt on the part of the present owner of Hadham Hall to fulfil that trust, both towards the manor and the house.

It seems safe to say that few properties in England have changed hands less frequently than this; for if the William, named in Domesday as owning the manor, be, as I am convinced, a Baud, it remained in the possession of that family for 438 years; transferred in 1505 to the Capells, they held it for a further 395 years; and, though the land has now passed into other hands, the titular sway of the manor yet remains with them.

During this long period of nigh eight and a half centuries more than one dwelling has stood here, while many vicissitudes have befallen the existing house, which dates from about 1572. It ceased to be the manor house, in the sense of being the residence of the lord of the manor, about the year 1668; and from that date, for nearly two and a half centuries, was occupied by successive tenants as a farm house. Since, in 1900, the house, with some portion of the land, passed into my hands, it has reverted to something of the character of its earlier years.

Much of it had been destroyed, and, naturally, much was needed to adapt what remained to modern requirements. These were provided by the addition of a new wing, which, though built in faithful copy of the old work, is yet admittedly and undisguisedly new. In dealing with the surviving portion of the old house the great aim has been to alter as little as possible; and, with one exception, the substitution of a window for a door, the exterior remains unchanged; indeed this is only a restoration, for the door was itself a later insertion. The interior has, of course, been considerably modified; but these changes form but one more link in the long series of alterations which inevitably befall every inhabited house in a period which is to be measured by centuries.

Never, perhaps, in the first rank of Tudor houses, Hadham Hall in its day of glory, say in 1640, stood high in that great group of mansions which sprang into existence in the latter half of the sixteenth century. If it is not named in any of the numerous

works in which such houses are depicted, by Nash and others, the reason is that, at the date when they were published, it had ceased to be a mansion, for its owners had left it for Cassiobury; moreover, a considerable portion of it had been taken down in 1668.

Many of the Capell family papers have been preserved; but though these throw much light upon the manor, and reach back to a date earlier than the building of the house, unfortunately nothing is found in them relative to its erection, or to the name of the architect. The only outside evidence of any kind consists in three early pictures, of which much use has been made; beyond these the only material for such of the following pages as deal with the house is derived from the walls themselves. Where these still stand they tell their own tale; where foundations alone exist, they have been, as far as was possible, explored. Deductions from evidence such as this are inevitably liable to error, and it may well be that fresh documentary evidence might make it needful to put a different construction on what is here set forth.

The story of the manor rests on the surer foundation of written documents, some to be found among the national records, many remaining with the Earl of Essex, its present lord. To him I have to express my grateful thanks for the courtesy with which he has placed them at my disposal. Fragmentary as the history of the manor is, without the court rolls and leases which enshrine it, even this fragment would have been impossible.

WILLIAM MINET.

Hadham Hall,

1914.

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SUCCESSIVE BAUD OWNERS OF THE MANOR.

	LIVING.	
William	1086	
⋮		
Simon	1178	
Philip	1210	
|		DIED.
Nicholas		1237 (before)
William		1277 (before)
Walter		1314
William		1343
John		1346
William		1386 (before)
Walter		1420
John		1422
William	BORN. 1404	1426
Thomas	1366	1430
Thomas		1449
Ralph		1483
Thomas	1470	1508

SUCCESSIVE CAPELL OWNERS OF THE MANOR.

	BORN.	DIED.
William		1515
Margaret (widow of William)		1522
Gyles	1486	1556
Henry	1505	1558
Edward	1510	1577
Henry	1537	1588
Arthur	1558	1632
Henry	1579	1622 ¹
Arthur	1604	1649 ²
Arthur	1632	1683 ³
Algernon	1671	1710
William	1697	1743
William Anne	1732	1799
George	1757	1839
John Thomas	1769	1819 ¹
Arthur Algernon	1803	1892
Arthur de Vere	1826	1879 ¹
George de Vere	1857	

¹ Dying before their fathers, were never owners of the manor.² First Baron Capell of Hadham.³ Created first Earl of Essex in 1661.

THE MANOR.

THERE are two Hadhams, Much and Little; and with their early history are connected two bishoprics, those of London and Ely. Moreover in Little Hadham are two manors, which have at times passed under the same name, whereby, as I think, has arisen confusion in the minds of the county historians.

The larger of these two manors, commonly called the manor of Hadham Parva, was, from before the Conquest down to the reign of Elizabeth, held by Ely; in 1600 it passed to the Crown, and in the following year was granted to the Cecils, who remain its lords to-day. The smaller manor of which I propose to trace the descent, and so far as may be possible, to detail the history, is also known as Hadham Parva, *alias* Bawdes. Its alternative name it derived from the family which held it early in the thirteenth century, if not, as I shall hope to shew, from the time of the Conquest. When, in 1505, it passed from the Bauds to the Capells it continued to be called the manor of Hadham Parva, though occasionally styled the manor of Hadham Hall. The name of Hadham Hall, which I propose to adopt, probably arose from the fact that the smaller manor had always a resident lord, as well as a manor house, whereas in the larger manor the lord was never resident, nor is there a trace to be found of any manor house.¹

The first notice we have of the manor, afterwards known as Hadham Hall, is in Domesday, where we are told that 'William holds Hadham of the Bishop of London.' Unfortunately we are not able to say for certain that this William was a Baud, but every fact to be found about the family combines to suggest that he was. The evidence centres largely on the connection between Hadham

¹ The modern house, now known as Little Hadham Place, the only other house after Hadham Hall of any importance in the parish, was formerly called The Hull; it is so shewn on the tythe map of 1844, and is still so called by the older inhabitants. However plausible it may seem to suggest that Hull is a variant of Hall, and that the Hull farm, as it was until recently, marked the site of the Hall of the Ely manor, the theory must be abandoned in the light of the fact that the Hull farm was copyhold of the Ely manor, and was only enfranchised as lately as 1876. Indeed Hull might just as reasonably be Hill, which would accord with the nature of the site. Further the name Hull occurs very early, for in a local deed of 1316, now in my possession, one Richard atte Hull appears as a witness.

Hall in Hertfordshire and Corringham in Essex. Both of these were, beyond all doubt, held by Bauds early in the thirteenth century, and the same family continued to hold the former until 1505, and the latter down to 1605. Now of Corringham Domesday also says that William held this manor of the Bishop of London, so that in 1086 we have a William holding both manors of the bishop; moreover, William was a common Baud name. The next notice of any Baud to be found is in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, which names a Simon Bald as holding three knights' fees of the Bishop of London in 1166.¹ True, we are not told where these holdings are; but here the *Pipe Rolls* come to our aid, for Simon is there mentioned as owing fines in Essex and Hertfordshire for trespass in the forest in 1177 and 1178, and Corringham and Hadham are in these two counties. If the Simon of these entries be a Baud, and the same Baud, he may well have been a grandson of William of Domesday.²

The next Baud of whom mention is found is Philip; of him we are told that in 1210 he holds four hides of the Bishop of London.³ As in the case of Simon the locality is unspecified, but the entry occurs in juxtaposition to other holdings in Albury, Patmore, and Stortford, all near to Hadham; and, moreover, Philip comes again just below in the same list as holding, also from the Bishop, 'Currygeham et Turroc' *i.e.* Corringham, and Thurrôck which adjoins it, so that we have here a definite connection of the Bauds with their Essex manor, and a more than probable connection of them with Hadham.⁴

With the next appearance of the family, and probably of its next generation, we get on to absolutely certain ground both at Corringham and Hadham, for we find a Nicholas who is dead, and William, his son and heir, a minor in 1237, when the Archbishop of York holds for the king 'terra que fuit Nicholai le Baud in

¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 186.

² *Pipe Roll Soc.*, xxvi., 153; xxvii., 36. In both these entries, as in the one of 1166, cited above, the name is given as Bald; Bauld, Bawde, Baud are other variants of the name. Weaver gives Simon as the first of the family in his list (*Funeral Monuments*, London, 1631, 602) and 1174 as the date of his death; but if the theory advanced in the text be correct, he must have lived to at least 1178. See *Essex Arch. Soc. Transactions*, N.S., x., 347, where Mr. Round has no doubt as to Simon Bald being a Baud.

³ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 54.

⁴ Mr. Round's authority may again be quoted in support of the suggestion that these unspecified holdings included Hadham. 'The holding of Simon Baard in Audeberia (Albury) is followed by six entries of holdings in unspecified places. Philip le Baud's four hides is one of these, and I see no reason to doubt that it includes Little Hadham.' The Simon Baard spoken of by Mr. Round must not be confused with Simon Baud or Bald of the earlier dates. Curious as it may seem, there was a distinct family of Baard at Albury, also holding under the Bishop of London; 'an almost incredible coincidence' as Mr. Round justly terms it (*loc. cit.*).

Curingeham et Hadeham.¹ Here then, within one hundred and fifty-one years of Domesday, we have the fact that we wished to prove, namely, the ownership of both manors by the Bauds definitely established; and if we have no actual evidence of it during the intervening period, at any rate the cumulative force of the proofs adduced goes very far towards establishing it, and I think we may say that the Bauds owed both Corringham and Hadham to the Conquest, and that the fact that they held these manors is recorded in Domesday.

One thing militates against this theory, namely the statement contained in Chauncy, who has been followed by all the later county historians; I quote from Newcourt, who, though he follows Chauncy, gives more detail:—

The Bishops of London held this manor called Hadham Hall sometime in their possession; for William de S. Maria, Bishop of London in 1199, did possess this manor, and granted two parts of his lands within his manor of Harrington and the old park at Hadham (*inter alia*) for one chaplain to celebrate and pray for the souls of the Bishops of London and their successors in the lower chapel in the Bishop's palace, where he founded a chantry for that purpose.²

The question at once arises how, if the bishop had already granted the manor to William by 1086, could he found a chantry out of it in 1199? The probable explanation is that confusion has arisen between Much Hadham and Hadham Parva, the former of which was in the bishop's hands, and from this he could therefore make a grant. In support of this explanation it is to be noted that there exists to-day in the south-east part of Much Hadham a house known as the Old Park. The subsequent history of this chantry, could it be found, would prove whether this explanation were correct.

William, the minor of 1237, appears again in 1262 as owning land in Albury,³ and must have been living in 1274, if the story given by Stow be correctly dated,⁴ for in that year he obtained from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's certain lands at Corringham, for which he grants them a doe in winter and a buck in summer. By 1277 he must have been dead, for an enquiry held in that year as to rights of warren at Hadham shews us his son Walter claiming the rights which had been his father William's before him.⁵ From this time onwards, down to Thomas who

¹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1237-42, p. 468.

² Newcourt, *Repertorium*, London, 1708, i., 830.

³ *Fines*, Hertfordshire, 47 Hen III., 573.

⁴ *Survey of London*, ed. 1720, part iii., 164. See also Essex Arch. Soc. *Transactions*, N.S., x., 60.

⁵ *Assize Roll*, 324 A.M. 28, d.

parted with the manor to William Capell in 1505, the line of descent can be traced without any doubt through eleven Baud owners; these I have already dealt with in another place, and therefore do no more here than set them out in the table on page vii.¹

Owning the two manors, Corringham and Hadham, what was their personal connection with the latter, and how far did they reside there? The question is not without interest from the point of view of our local history.

Up to the fifteenth century the only evidence on the point is a monument in Corringham church, probably to Isabella, wife of William Baud, who died about 1336; this connects them rather with Corringham, but we are not without trace of them at Hadham in the same century. A deed of 1316 has, as its first witness, William Baud, who was the son of Walter. In 1368 two further deeds have, as their first witness, another William Baud, described as 'miles' (the William of the earlier deed bears no title), he was grandson of the first named William, and succeeded to the estate in 1346. These deeds, now in my possession, are connected with the transfer of land in Little Hadham, and the other witnesses named in them can mostly be identified as Little Hadham folk. Of definite residence at Hadham the first actual evidence is in 1404, when William, son of John, is baptized there. This comes to us in one of those curious documents, a proof of age.² From this date onwards there are many indications that they must have lived mainly, if not entirely, at Hadham.

Thomas Baud, in his will of 1449³ not only speaks of the house, which he must have built as I suggest about 1440, in a way which implies personal residence in it, but directs that he shall be buried at Hadham 'in the church of the Blessed Cecilia the Virgin, before her image there,'⁴ and further evidence comes to us from other monuments in the church. Of these but three now remain. Chauncy, however, writing in 1700, says that 'five stones lie here where several of the family of the Bauds have been buried, whereof two have these inscriptions' *i.e.* one to Walter (died 1420), and one to Thomas (died 1430) and Maria his wife (died 1422); the brasses which were on the other stones are, he says, lost; Salmon (1728)

¹ Essex Arch. Soc. *Transactions*, N.S., x., 145. "The Baud family of Corringham and Hadham Parva." When that paper was written the earlier history of the family was not known; I have therefore set it out fully above.

² *Inq. p.m.*, 4 Hen. VI., 51.

³ *P.C.C.*, 18, Rous.

⁴ Until the discovery of this will, a short time since, the dedication of the church was supposed to be to St. Edmund. One is glad to have established an attribution so uncommon in England, indeed there are only two others, Adstock in Buckinghamshire, and Bilney in Norfolk.

confirms him. These same two inscriptions still existed in Clutterbuck's time (1827, though he gives Walter, in error, as William). Cussans (1870) says that one brass only then remains, of which the inscription is lost; this he says, though he gives no proof, was the monument to Thomas. Morant (1768) also mentions 'gravestones, three of them defaced, one of which is supposed to have been for Sir William Baud who died in 1375, because two epitaphs that are legible are said to be for his sons Walter and Thomas,' but the reasoning which allots one of the defaced tombs to William is not very conclusive.

Cussan's one brass still remains, and shows a knight and his wife with a group of four daughters; this may be the Thomas of 1430, though one dare not say so with certainty. Two other brasses, however do exist, and afford definite evidence that the Bauds were living at Hadham in the fifteenth century; the first is to Syr Richard Warriner, rector of Corringham, who must have died at Hadham in 1475, when, as we may fairly assume, on a visit to his friend and patron. This, though all the county historians must have seen it, only Salmon notices, nor was he able to make out the inscription, which indeed is much defaced, and has only been fully read in these later days; 'another, in a clergyman's habit, seems to be for some Syr Richard . . . ,' he says.¹ The second they could not have seen, for it was only found under the floor of the chancel in 1875, during a restoration of that part of the church. It is a fragment of a ribbon brass inscription to Ralf Baud (died 1483) and Margaret his wife. The spaces for the final dates of her death are left, as was often the case, in blank, and from the clear cut appearance of the fragment one must think that it was never actually used; its existence, however, affords strong presumption of an intention to be buried here. The result of this evidence certainly is that, at any rate during the last hundred years of their tenure of Hadham, the Bauds did reside there.²

¹ This is fully given in *Home Counties Magazine*, vol. vi., p. 98.

² Weever (*op. cit.*, p. 602) confirms, in part, the evidence as to these monuments, giving the dates of the deaths of three Bauds at Hadham, namely, William in 1375, Thomas in 1420 (though this must again be an error for Walter), and Thomas in 1449; but he omits altogether the Thomas who died in 1430. It is suggested in the *Transactions of the Essex Arch. Soc.* (N.S., xi., 117) that a brass in Corringham church may be that of Thomas who died in 1449. It is, of course, possible that though, as his will shows, he intended to be buried at Hadham, he may have died at Corringham, during a temporary visit there, just as the rector of Corringham died at Hadham. There is no trace of any monument to this Thomas at Hadham. One other monument there is in Little Hadham church, a large stone slab which forms the floor of the porch. The feet of countless generations have so worn it that nothing remains but traces of the border, on which may still be read the words 'Cy gist.' It is certainly of the thirteenth century, and probably, may one say from its size, as from the character of the ornament yet visible, to a Baud—the only family here likely to have owned such a tomb slab.

TRANSFER FROM THE BAUDS TO THE CAPELLS.

I now take up the story of the manor at the date of its transfer to the Capells. Thomas Baud, lord of the manors of Corringham, Hadham and Upwick (*inter alia*), fell on evil times; probably, from what is known of the circumstances, through no fault of his own. The evidence of this is a mortgage of his manors of Hadham, Upwick, and Corringham to certain persons, evidently Commissioners for the Crown, among them being Richard Empson, Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster, to secure the payment of 500 marks. It is clear from this that Empson and probably Dudley, though he does not appear in the deed, had, in pursuance of the policy for which they are infamous, found some flaw in Baud's title, the result of which was this heavy fine. Though the concession was made of allowing the sum to be paid in four instalments spread over three years, Baud was unequal to the strain; and, perhaps to save Corringham, which remained on in the family for another hundred years, was forced to sell Hadham.¹

Land transfer in England has never been a simple matter, but the change of ownership from Thomas Baud to William Capell is so complicated that the story can only be followed by taking the deeds, which happily survive, in chronological order.

1. 1503, 12th July: Mortgage by Thomas Baud of the manors of Corringham, Hadham and Upwick to certain persons (representing the Crown) to secure the payment of 500 marks (333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) by four instalments, payable respectively at All Saints 1504, Ascension and All Saints 1505, and Ascension 1506.
2. 1504, 19th November: Convèyance from Thomas Baud to Thomas, Lord Darcy, of the manor of Hadham, subject to the mortgage: the latter undertaking to pay the instalments as they become due, together with a further sum of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in cash to Baud, thus making the purchase money 400*l.*
3. 1505, 8th January: Conveyance of the same from Lord Darcy to William Capell for 560*l.*
4. 1505, 10th January: Indenture between the same parties, by which Darcy agrees that if Capell within two years shall mislike his bargain, it is to be annulled, and the price returned.

¹ There are fines in 1570 (two), 1584 and 1605, showing the Bauds still dealing with Corringham. The advowson was in their hands as late as 1599 (Newcourt, ii., 194). The last trace of any Baud I am able to find is the marriage of Thomas, of St. Dunstan's in the East, bachelor, aged thirty-five years, to Sarah Brand, spinster, aged twenty years, daughter of Joseph Brand of Edwardstow, Suffolk, on April 8th, 1663 (*Mar. Licences, Canterbury*, Harl. Soc., xxiv.).

5. 1505, 11th January: Lease of the manor, by William Capell to Christopher Clapham for one year from Michaelmas, 1504.
6. 1505, 19th February: Receipt to Lord Darcy from the king's treasurer for the first payment of 83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* due, as we have seen, the preceding All Saints.
7. 1505, 14th November: The same for the second instalment (due the Ascension previous).
8. 1506, 26th April: Loan of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* from Lord Darcy to Gyles Capell, son of William, the security being Gyles' possible reversionary interest in Hadham, or in Walkern.¹
9. 1506, 22nd May: Receipts for the third and fourth instalments of the mortgage (166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), paid by Lord Darcy to the king's treasurer.
10. 1506, Michaelmas: Fine suffered by Thomas Baud and Anne his wife, by which John Holden and John Barfote, clerk, became possessed of the manor of Little Hadham (clearly as trustees), the consideration is said to be 1,000*l.* but this was no doubt nominal.
11. 1507, 18th January: Release by Thomas Baud of the manor of Little Hadham to John Holden and John Barfote to the use of William Capell.
12. 1507, 7th July: Covenant by Lord Darcy to William Capell that the value of the manor should be 30*l.* annually; and, that if it were not such, Lord Darcy would provide a sufficient sum to buy lands to make it of that value. It appears further from this deed that Lord Darcy was then tenant of the manor, for a year, in succession to Christopher Clapham, *i.e.* from Michaelmas, 1506, to Michaelmas, 1507.

The first point to notice in this complicated series of transactions is that Darcy, who only owns the manor from 19th November, 1504, to 8th January, 1505, makes a profit of 160*l.* on its re-sale to Capell. The deeds by which Darcy offers to take back the estate, if Capell mislike his bargain, and his later undertaking to make it up to the value of 30*l.* a year, seem to show caution, and some hesitation in Capell's mind, while the underplot with Gyles Capell is another curious touch. By January, 1505, Capell was evidently owner of the manor, as he granted a lease of it, three days after the conveyance to himself, to a man who seems to have been in occupation even before the conveyance from Baud to Darcy. Some question of Anne Baud's dower right, or some legal technicality

¹ Another Hertfordshire manor owned by William Capell. This loan was repaid in 1515 after William Capell's death, and a release given by Lord Darcy.

connected with attornment, probably accounts for the duplication of the conveyance which we find in 1506 and 1507, when the estate is again conveyed to trustees to the use of William Capell. One would wish also to be able to account for Lord Darcy's share in the business, though the profit he made is perhaps sufficient explanation.

DESCENT OF THE MANOR THROUGH THE CAPELLS.

Of William Capell's personal connection with Hadham after his purchase we have no evidence. He seems to have lived in London in a house next to St. Bartholomew-the-Little—whence the Capel court of to-day,—and no doubt also at Rayne¹; but in 1511 he came into conflict with his superior lord the Bishop of London, in connection with Hadham. Certain annual payments, which had not been made, were due to the overlord, for castleward of his castle of Bishop's Stortford. The story is referred to by Chauncy (page 154) but we get more details in the original Hadham papers. From these it appears that Capell, in Michaelmas term, 1511, summoned Richard Aprice, John Trot and John Longman for the taking of four horses from the Old Park at Little Hadham on March 28th, 1511. The defendants admit, but say that they took the horses as bailiffs of Richard, Bishop of London, for three years' arrears of certain payments due for fealty and castleward. Capell rejoins that more than three years ago the said castle had tumbled down and was in ruins; but the sufficiency of the rejoinder is denied by the defendants. On May 24th, 1512, verdict is given for the defendants, the plaintiff making default; but he sues for a second writ on which he recovers two of the horses. Another document, undated, but no doubt referring to the same question, states that a year ago distress was levied in Chancery for three years arrears, 3*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*, for which nigh a year ago distress was levied; two horses he has recovered out of the four taken for the same distress, but last Sunday Thomas Chabsy and another entered Hadham Park and took four horses, one of which was killed and the park gates broken to pieces. They still keep three horses.

This note would seem to refer to a second distress of a more violent character.

William Capell died in 1515 and his will² contains two references to Hadham. Gyles his son was to have 'my black colt that goeth in the park at Hadham' and 'my wife Margaret shall have and

¹ The connection of the Capells with Rayne is dealt with in a paper in the Essex Arch. Soc. *Transactions*, N.S., ix., 243. See also *Victoria County Hist.*, Hertfordshire: Genealogical vol., p. 79.

² P.C.C., 13 Holder.

enjoy the profit of the stock and cattell going in lease and letten within my manor of Little Hadham.' The manor itself was already hers for life. Margaret died in 1522 and her bequests to Hadham are worth noticing.¹ She leaves 40s. to the church to be bestowed by the advice of the chief of the parishioners, and such ornaments and things as they have most need of, and 'I will that they have a vestment with our arms therein, for and to the use of the said church to pray for us. Also I bequeath 20l. to be bestowed on the highway between my place of Little Hadham and Stortford, and that my executors see it done.' The last bequest, based evidently on a personal knowledge of the condition of the road, implies a residence at Hadham during the seven years of her widowhood.

The next period in the story of Hadham extends from the death of Margaret to the death of her son Gyles in 1556. It is quite clear that he never lived here, but continued to reside at Rayne, the older seat of the family, until 1556, when he died and was buried at Rayne. The little that is known of Gyles Capell will be found in the *Transactions* of the Essex Archæological Society,² and in the *Victoria County History*. Many instances could be added, collected from the *State Papers*, of his close connection with court life. Though he described himself in 1553 as being 'at the last cast,' all other evidence, as we shall see, points to his having preserved, and indeed increased, his father's possessions. His Essex properties are fully set out in the inquisition held after his death, which took place in May, 1556. His will³ bequeathed all his household stuff at Rayne and Hadham to his son Edward; and 'his fine bay now running at Hadham' is left to John Howes.

Henry, Gyles' eldest son, succeeded on his father's death, and it was during his short ownership of one year that the lease of 1556, to be referred to later, was granted. This lease lets to Richard Monk 'all that the farm in Hadham which the said Richard late dwelt in with all houses and buildings thereunto belonging'; and, later on, Richard is spoken of as 'residing and dwelling' upon the premises. The inference from this would seem to be that Monk not only held the farm land, but also lived in the mansion house as caretaker.

Henry died in 1557 and was buried in London; his brother Edward succeeded to the ownership of Hadham, and this date brings us up to the question which cannot, unfortunately, be definitely

¹ P.C.C., 2 Ayloffe.

² Vol. ix., n.s., 247. He is there said to have had three wives, but this is an error, for Mary Rous and Mary Denys are the same.

³ P.C.C., 6 Wrastley.

answered,—when, and by whom was the present house built? It must, I think, be attributed to the period 1557-1588, covered by Edward and his son Henry, and I propose to show that it is far more probable that it was built by the latter than by the former.

Of Edward but little is known, nor does that little connect him either with Hadham or Rayne. Leases of 1562, 1570, 1574, as well as his will of 1571, all describe him as of Aspenden, and the latter document establishes his residence there beyond all doubt.¹ Nor are good reasons wanting to account for this, for his daughter Anne married Edward Halfhide of Tannis Court, Aspenden, in 1569, while he himself owned land at Cottered and Walkern, both of which lie close to Aspenden. His will further directs that he shall be buried at Aspenden, a wish which would seem to exclude any supposition that he was planning a new house at Hadham, with the intention of removing there. He died in 1577, it is not known where, nor do the Aspenden, Rayne, or Hadham registers contain any record of his burial.

It seems then far more likely that it is to Henry, his son, that we must look as the builder of Hadham Hall. Up to 1572 he must have lived at Rayne, for in that year his wife Katherine Manners dies and is buried there, and her still extant monument is evidence that her husband intended to be buried by her side, for his name is included in the inscription, and, as is often the case, blank spaces are left for the date of his death. However, he married again, and the next certain fact is that he was living at Hadham in 1578, the year after his father's death, and onwards to the time of his own death in 1588, for in 1578; he entertained Queen Elizabeth there on one of her royal progresses, and it is reasonable to suppose that he would have wished to handsel his new dwelling by receiving in it his sovereign. That she came here is proved by Nicholl's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*,² where we read that in 1578, on her return from Norfolk, the Queen came 'to Mayster Kapels, where was excellent good cheere and entertaynment.' That it was Hadham and not Rayne at which the Queen stayed is confirmed by the records of St. Michael's church, Bishop's Stortford,³ where under date 1578, we are told that there was 'paid for ringing to the ringers when the Queen's Ma^{tie} came to M^r Capells, and from M^r Capells throrrwe the towne, xs.' Nicholls further tells us that her next stay was at Hide Hall, Sawbridgeworth, the proximity of which, an easy day's journey from Hadham, further confirms the fact.

¹ Fuller details as to this will be found in the *Home Counties Magazine*, vol. vi., p. 256.

² London, 1823, vol. ii., p. 222.

³ Edited by J. L. Glasscock, London, 1882, p. 59.

On a review of these considerations I come to the conclusion that Edward had no part in building the new house, but was content to remain on at Aspenden, in the hope of dying there. Henry, perhaps disliking Rayne after his wife's death there in 1572, may, by some arrangement with his father, have begun the new house at Hadham in that year, or shortly after, completing it by 1578, for it must have taken some time to build. In any case this much is clear, that we find no trace of Henry's living at Rayne after 1572, while we do find Arthur, his son, living there after 1577, a fact proved by the Rayne registers. The inference therefore would seem to be that the present house was built by Henry Capell at some time between 1572 and 1578, and the architecture in every way confirms the theory.

Henry died in 1588, where is not known, as no record of his burial has been found. His will,¹ however, proves beyond all doubt, not only his residence at Hadham, but also his intention that it should become the permanent home of the family in place of Rayne; for he directs that the home at Hadham is to be kept up till Christmas, and that the corn and hay there are to be inned for Arthur, his eldest son, for his housekeeping. Arthur is further directed to leave at Rayne all such bedding and other things which he received at his first coming there, for the use of Henry's widow.

On Henry's death Arthur, accordingly, came to live at Hadham, while Rayne became a dower house where Mary, Henry's widow, lived until her death in 1614. Arthur, who married in 1578, must have been much with his father at Hadham during the next ten years, for four of his children were baptised, and therefore probably born there, during that period (1583-86): Robert, the fourth son, was baptised at Rayne in 1588, three months before the death of his grandfather at Hadham, which shows that Arthur was living in his own home just before the time of his father's death. His next fourteen children, for there were nineteen in all, were all baptised at Hadham. We may therefore say that Arthur lived here up to the time of his death in 1632, and here he was buried.² Henry, his eldest son, died during his father's life-time (1622) so Arthur the first was succeeded in the ownership of Hadham by Arthur the second, who was born there in 1603.³ He spent the first ten years of his ownership of the estate in carrying out the additions and embellishments we shall read of later when we come to speak of

¹ P.C.C., 48, Rutland.

² It is a fact worth noting that though twenty-two Capells were buried at Little Hadham between 1558 and 1696, only two monuments to them exist there to-day.

³ Wrongly given in the *Dict. of Nat. Bio.* as 1610.

the house. Scarcely were these completed, and the picture¹ shewing himself with his family sitting in quiet enjoyment thereof painted, when the civil war broke out. Events moved rapidly. In June, 1642, Lord Arthur Capell, as he had then become, was, with eight other lords, impeached. He was already with the king at York, but must have long before foreseen the inevitable trend of events, and had made preparations to meet them on such a scale that knowledge of what he had done cannot have failed to become noised abroad; the result was that Hadham Hall was at once searched by the Parliamentary forces. One of the news-letters of the day is our evidence of this,² giving an account of the movements of the Earl of Bedford's troop, and how 'on the 29th of August, with the assistance of some horsemen from London they marched [from Hertford] to the Lord Capell's house, where they found arms sufficient to arme about a thousand men, with ten horses, great saddles, pistols, and carbines.' These were doubtless confiscated.

Hadham and Lord Capell's other estates were sequestered in the following year, but by some arrangement, a portion of them, including Hadham, was let to William Capell, his uncle 'that he may preserve the houses, woods, etc.' In 1644, the committee for compounding notes that no rent has been paid for two quarters, and William Capell says he knows not how the tenants have disposed of the rents, 'by which it is easily conceived,' remarks the committee, 'which way the rents are gone and how converted.'³ In 1650, a steward is appointed by the committee for Lord Capell's courts;⁴ but, though we have no court rolls for Hadham between April, 1642, and April, 1661, this order would not have affected that manor, since this estate was restored to Arthur, second Lord Capell, in 1649, immediately after his father's execution. The son's petition, of that year, points out that Hadham had been settled by his great-grandfather, that his father had only a life interest in it, and that therefore on his death he became entitled to the estate. On this an order is made that the agents are not to meddle with it, and that Arthur, Lord Capell, is to have the manor and to receive the arrears since the death of Arthur, first Lord Capell.

Surely nowhere but in England could such action have been possible; the executions of the king and of Capell, his staunch supporter, had only just taken place; yet, so strong is the abiding

¹ See frontispiece.

² A Perfect Diurnall of the Proceedings in Hertfordshire from the 15th of August to the 29th s. l. 1st September, 1642.

³ *Cal. of the Com. for Compounding*, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

reverence for law and custom, that a sequestered estate, which had become the spoil of the victors, is quietly handed back to follow the settlement made of it in 1627.

There is yet stronger evidence of the humanity of the Parliamentary party at this crisis of the struggle, at a time when the support of their armies demanded every resource which it could command. A paper, unfortunately undated, but which must be between 1646 and 1649¹, contains a return made by William Capell, to whom, as we have seen, the management of some of the Capell properties had been entrusted by the Committee for Compounding. In this all the Capell estates are set out, with their values and disposition. Cassiobury, valued at 711*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*, is let to Sir William Brereton; the entry which concerns Hadham must be quoted in full, 'the house and park at Little Hadham, with the lands thereto belonging, were set out at 300*l.* per annum for the necessary mayntenances for the children; which, by reason of the taxes laid upon it, and the charges in keeping the house in repayer from ryne, and the greatest part of the said lands lying in a park and not to be improved, hath yielded little or no mayntenance to the children.'

The properties dealt with in this return shew a total annual value of 3,482*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*, but it ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence, and does not include them all.²

Our concern here lies only with Hadham, and this manor, it is clear, was again in Capell hands in 1649. Arthur, its new lord, born at Hadham in 1631, was then eighteen, but of his early years little is known. His mother died in 1660, and was buried with her husband in Little Hadham Church; it may be that on the restoration of the estate to him in 1649 her son lived with her there. At any rate the registers establish his residence here after his marriage, which took place in 1653, for in 1658 Algernon, his eldest child, is buried here. The baptisms of three more children in 1660, 1663, and 1667, shew that he continued here during those years, while the burial of 'Henry, lord of Maldon, son of the Right Honorable Arthur Capell, Earle of Essex' in 1668,³ carries on his residence here down to that date. By 1669, the date of the first entry in the Watford registers,

¹ This is proved by the fact that Cassiobury had been occupied by Lord Essex up to the time of his death in 1646, when he was succeeded by Sir William Brereton, to whom, in the return, the property is said to be let; while Hadham was restored to the young Arthur Capell in 1649, a fact which would have been noticed in the document had its date been later than this.

² Further particulars as to the Capell properties during the civil war are given in the East Herts. Arch. Soc. *Transactions*, iii., 312, as well as in *Lives of the friends and contemporaries of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon*, Lady Theresa Lewis, London, 1852, i., 249. In the latter the petition referred to in the text is set out in full.

³ He had been created Earl of Essex in 1661.

it is clear that he had gone to live at Cassiobury. The evidence of Moses Cook, his gardener, to be quoted later,¹ confirms the conclusion to be drawn from the registers, and establishes beyond all doubt that in 1669 Hadham had ceased to be the home of the lords of its manor. Much, one may almost say most, of the house was pulled down, enough only being left to provide a farm-house, and the park became farm-land broken up into three main holdings. One wonders how the great mass of material resulting from this destruction can have been disposed of. The foundations, as the plan shews, remain; and, dig where one will to-day, brick rubbish turns up. The rooms under the terrace, as well as a portion of the cellars, were filled with the debris, but all this can account but for very little of what there must have been to dispose of. Probably much of it was used to enlarge the two lodges of the park, Hadham old park lodge and Wickham Hall, to fit them for use as farm-houses for the two farms allotted to them on the breaking up of the park.

Dealing as we are with Hadham Hall, and only incidentally with its owners, the story of the Capells must be left at this point. Suffice it to say that the manor passed on from father to son for seven generations more, down to the seventh Earl, its present lord, while the house passed from tenant to tenant, as will be seen when we come to deal with the 250 years of its history as a farm-house.

The manor can never have been a large one, but later purchases had increased the property held by the Capells to 1628 acres. In 1900 the whole of this was sold, in various lots. Of the demesne land of the original manor, most, though not all, passed with the ownership of the old mansion, and now forms what must be called the Hadham Hall estate, since the manor remains with its old lords. It follows that such copyhold as is yet unenfranchised, and there is a little, is also still held by them.

We may now turn to consider the land which made up the manor, and endeavour to recover what may be known about it.

¹ *Infra*, p. 72.

PLAN OF THE CAPELL ESTATE IN 1900



LANDS COMPRISED IN THE MANOR.

THE earliest statement of the lands comprised in the manor is contained in one of the documents which effected the transfer. In this, a fine of 1506, it is set out as consisting of twelve messuages, six tofts, 400 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, 400 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood and 4*l.* of rent in Little Hadham, Aldebury (Albury), Stortford and Farnham—940 acres in all. This description is repeated in an inquisition of 1516,¹ but one is always inclined to add to these old particulars the cautious phrase of many legal documents, 'be the same more or less,' for the very roundness of the figures, and the way in which they pass from deed to deed, certainly unchanged and seemingly unchecked, is apt to breed great doubt as to their accuracy. But even if 940 acres be the original extent of the manor many reasons make it impossible to reconstitute them to-day, for the lands of free tenure, with much that was copyhold, have now fallen away from the manor, nor can their former connection with it be any longer traced. Much change also has been wrought by the enclosure acts of the middle of the last century, which swept away the common fields and obliterated the small holdings which built them up. Further, during their long tenure of 395 years the Capells, lords of the manor, added largely to the original purchase, while portions, here and there, were no doubt parted with, so that to-day it remains an impossible task to disentangle, with any approach to accuracy, the 940 acres, which are said to have formed the Hadham Hall manor, from the 1628 acres which made up the Capell holding in 1900, the date of its final dispersal.²

Some approximation can, however, be reached, for we may at once discard from these 1628 acres what are known to have been later purchases; these are

			A.	R.	P.
Chylleshott, purchased by Arthur Capell, 1633	...	...	18	0	0
Wickham Hall, ,, ,, 1634	...	...	501	0	0
Holyate purchase, ,, ,, 1635	...	...	8	0	30
Green street farm, purchased 1812	...	...	109	0	22
Atthouse farm	...	...	137	3	36
Acreman farm	...	...	79	0	9
			853	1	17

¹ *Inq. p.m.*, series II., vol. xxx., no. 25.

² The total Capell holding at this date is shewn on the plan on the opposite page.

To this must be added some 187 acres lying to the east of Wickham Hall, which would also appear to be due to later purchases of which no evidence survives. The total is thus 1040 acres, 1 rood, 17 poles, and this, taken from the 1628 acres of 1900, leaves 587 acres, all of which must have formed a part of the 940 acres comprised in the Hadham Hall manor, and remained a part of it on the sale in 1900.

Knowing from the records, as will be seen when we come to deal with the details, something of what was once demesne, park, and land of free and copyhold tenure, it is, however, possible to reconstitute more than 587 acres of the original 940; and the following table accounts for 648 acres, 1 rood, 8 poles. The evidence which goes to prove this list will appear in the following pages, but it seems well to set out the total here.

TABLE OF SUCH OF THE LANDS FORMING THE 940 ACRES OF THE ORIGINAL MANOR AS CAN NOW, WITH ANY CERTAINTY, BE IDENTIFIED.

	A.	R.	P.
House and land appurtenant, say ...	21	2	16
Park	240	0	0
Demesne land, as set out on page 27...	304	2	19
Certain lands not there included, <i>viz.</i> :			
The balance of Brickleys ...	9	3	33
Lands at Plantynes ...	18	3	29
Lands held of the manor, and identified, as set out on page 36 ...	53	1	11
	648	1	28
Leaving a balance, unidentified, of ...	291	2	12
	940	0	0

These 291 acres, which cannot now be identified, must have been partly composed of woods, common lands and pastures, and partly of lands of free tenure and copyholds, now enfranchised.

I now propose to deal with the identification of the 648 acres comprised in the foregoing table, which formed a part of the original 940 acres of the Hadham Hall manor.

The extent of the land enjoyed with the house is but an estimate, though, probably, a fairly correct one, seeing that we have the old curtilage enclosure as a guide. For the park we have the authority of a document of 1635, which gives its acreage as 240 at that date. The remainder of the 648 acres consisted of demesne land and lands of free or copyhold tenure, and of these I take the demesne land first.

THE DEMESNE LAND.

This was generally let, and the survival of a long series of leases enables us to be fairly confident as to its position and extent; but, though these leases give field names and, very generally, acreages, absolute identification is not always possible, since many of the old field names are lost to-day. The fact that the modern acreage generally exceeds the old, seems to account for their loss, for the smaller enclosures, and it is the names of these which have perished, have become merged in the larger.

From these leases, which range from 1505 to 1725, there can be extracted thirty-five enclosures, some occurring in one lease only, some in several. The spelling, though varying as we should expect, yet remains sufficiently constant to enable such of the names as have survived to be recognised. Where identification has been possible the names are shown on the plan of the manor, based on the Ordnance Survey of 1896.

It has been a question how best to record these names, with their occurrence in the various leases, in such form as to enable them to be recognised and followed through the years. The plan that has recommended itself is to give, first, (table A) a chronological list of the leases, with the names of the landlord and tenant; second, (table B) the thirty-five enclosures, with their successive variants of spelling and acreage. The parcels of each lease are given in table A by reference to their number in table B.

TABLE A.

Chronological list of the extant leases of the demesne land of the manor of Hadham Hall.

1. 1505: Sir William Capell to Christopher Clapham; lease of the manor, late Sir Thomas Baud, for one year at the rent of 30*l*.

This, as we know from other sources, was the then value of the manor. No parcels are given, therefore this lease has no topographical interest.

2. 1548: Sir Gyles Capell to George Feltwell and John Nybgrave of Little Hadham, lyme burners; lease of a parcel of chalk ground with two lyme kyles, for twenty-one years, rent 1*l*. and any lime required by the lessor, who is to supply one load of wood for every three quarters of lime he takes.

The land is described as lately held by John Brett.

Parcels, table B, 1, and see leases 5, 10, *infra*.

3. 1556: Sir Henry Capell, of London, to Richard Monke, of Little Hadham, husbandman; lease of all that farm in Hadham of 192 acres which the said Richard late dwelt in. Term twenty-one years. Rent 15*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*

Parcels, table B, 2, 4 to 11.

4. 1556: Sir Henry Capell of London, to John Howse of Little Hadham. Term twenty-one years. Rent 3*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Parcels, table B, 20 to 23, and see lease 6 *infra*.

5. 1562: Sir Edward Capell, of Aspeden, to John Sabyne, of Little Hadham, lyme burner; lease of a lyme kyll now in the hands of the said John, late George Feltwell and John Nybgrave. Term twenty-one years, rent 1*l.*, and such lime as the lessor shall require, to be paid for by one load of wood for every three quarters of lime.

Parcels, table B, 1. From the dates of this and lease 2, it would seem that the latter had terminated otherwise than by effluxion of time.

6. 1570: Sir Edward Capell, of Aspeden, to George Pyttes of Little Hadham. Term twenty-one years to run from the expiration of lease 4. (This would not have expired until 1577).

Parcels, table B, 20 to 23.

7. 1574: Sir Edward Capell, of Aspeden, to John Monk, of Little Hadham, who holds by lease certain other lands of the said Edward. Term six years. Rent, a share of the produce. Perhaps John was son and successor to Richard Monk whose lease (3) would still be running.

Parcels, table B, 12 to 17.

Unfortunately only two of these parcels can be identified, and no acreage is given for any of them.

8. 1578. Henry Capell, of Little Hadham, to Nicholas Dyer of the same, yeoman. Term nine years. Rent, a share of the produce.

Parcels, table B, 2, being one of the fields comprised in lease 3.

9. 1578: Henry Capell, of Little Hadham, to George Sammye, farmer, of the parsonage of the same town. Term, nine years. Rent, a share of the produce.

Parcels, table B, 4, 6, and 7, being also fields comprised in lease 3, but these last two leases only account for 120 of the 192 acres comprised in that lease.

10. 1583: Henry Capell, of Little Hadham, to Robert Sabine of the same, lime-burner. Term, twenty-one years. Rent, 40 quarters of lime 'in the name of an incombe,' and as many more quarters of lime as the lessor shall require yearly, to be paid for at 20*d.* the quarter.

Parcels, table B, 1.

11. 1604: Sir Arthur Capell, of Little Hadham, and Sir Henry Capell, his son and heir apparent, to Nicholas Burke, of Little Hadham, husbandman. Term, twenty-one years. Rent, 10*s.*

Parcels, table B, 3.

12. 1617: Sir Arthur Capell, of Little Hadham, to Edward Pyttes, his servant. Term, at will. Rent, 10*l.* 16*s.*

Parcels, table B, 24, 25, 29 to 35.

13. 1725: William, Earl of Essex, to Joseph Scott of Hadham Hall, yeoman; lease of land on the north side of Hadham Hall lately in the tenure of John Saville at the rent of 3*l.* (no acreage is given for this); and of 111 acres, being part of a parcel of land known as Little Hadham park; and of various parcels fully set out by name, containing 270 acres, 'now in the tenure of Joseph Scott.' Term, twenty-one years. Rent, 26*l.* 7*s.*

The parcels making up the 270 acres are table B, 2, 4 to 10, 15 to 19, 26 to 28, and 35.

TABLE B.

A list of the field names which occur in the demesne leases above set out; the number of the lease (table A) in which they occur, with the acreage, where this is given; together with the modern name and acreage taken from the particulars of sale of 1900.¹ To each field name are added notes as to its identification, *etc.* Wherever it has been found possible to identify the site, the name has been marked on the plan of the manor.

FIELD NAME.			LEASE	A.	R.	P.
1.	Chalk ground	...	2	0	3	0
	Chalk ground	...	5	0	3	0
	Chalk ground	...	10	0	3	0

This plot was included in 1900 as part of Church field (6 *infra*). The third lease (10) enables it to be identified beyond all doubt, for

¹ It may be noted that this does not always agree with the acreage shewn on the Ordnance Survey; still less does it agree with that given in the tythe map of 1844.

it is said to lie between 'a field called Church field and the highway from Nasshe to Stortford.' It is no longer used for lime burning, but chalk is yet won from the old pit when needed. The Ordnance Survey gives the acreage as 1 acre, 1 rood, 11 poles, but this now includes a small plantation. The old chalk workings must at sometime have extended over to the other side of the highway; for the surface there shows that it has evidently been worked, indeed it seems likely that the road itself was tunnelled under, for some six years since the roadway collapsed at this point, falling into what were evidently old workings.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
2.	Brendon ...	...	3	30	0	0
	Brunden ...	...	8	30	0	0
	Brunders ...	...	13	30	0	0
	Brandon (1900) ...	...	—	35	3	8
3.	Brundon pightel ...	...	11	1	1	11

The small pightel is now lost, no doubt merged in the larger field, which has also absorbed three acres of Bysouths (see *infra*, page 41); this largely accounts for the increase in the modern acreage.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
4.	High field ...	...	3	30	0	0
	Heygh feild ...	...	9	30	0	0
	High field ...	...	13	30	0	0
	High field (1900) ...	...	—	38	1	34

There seems no way of accounting for the very considerable increase of acreage here.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
5.	Grymmell ...	...	3	50	0	0
	Grimmell ...	...	13	44	0	0
	Grim hill (1900) ...	...	—	48	2	5

The acreage of this field has varied curiously.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
6.	Churche field ...	...	3	30	0	0
	Chirch feild ...	...	9	30	0	0
	Church field ...	...	13	30	0	0
	Church field (1900) ...	...	—	34	2	38

This has been diminished since 1900 by 2 roods and 26 poles added to the churchyard in 1904; but, *per contra*, it now includes the 1 acre, 1 rood, 11 poles spoken of above (1 *supra*).

FIELD NAME.				LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
7.	Conyngery	...	...	3	30	0	0
	Conyvers	...	...	9	30	0	0
	Great Conigre	}	...	13	21	0	0
	Little Conigre		...		9	0	0
	Great Corny	}	...	—	23	3	5
	Little Corny		(1900)		...	10	2	3

In the first two leases this field appears as one; but, by 1725 (lease 13), it had become divided, as it still remains. We know from a poaching tale of 1467¹ that this field was then a warren, and the name though now somewhat corrupted, perpetuates the fact. The *New English Dictionary* gives both Conynger and Conygree as meaning rabbit warren.

The acreage of these fields remains constant in the three leases of 1556, 1578, and 1725, but by 1900 it has increased to 34 acres, 1 rood, 8 poles, and this is one of the rare cases in which documentary evidence enables us to account for the increase. Great Corny, as it is now called, lies on the extreme boundary of the parish, and therefore falls within the directions given for the perambulation of the parish in 1818. In these we are led at this point, not round Great Corny, but 'round the lord's spring.' This perambulation was repeated in 1833, when some notes were added by the officer who then led the expedition; in these he says, 'the spring stocked up and laid into Great Cony field.' From this it is clear that there must have been at the north end of the field, a small spring, or wood, of some 4 acres, which became a part of the field at some time between 1818 and 1833.

FIELD NAME.			LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
8.	Naisshe mead	...	3	5	0	0
	Little Nash mead	...	13	5	0	0
	Upper Nash mead (1900)	...	—	5	3	11

This field, like 19, takes its name from the river Ash, which forms the western boundary of each of them.

FIELD NAME.			LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
9.	Brickleis	...	3	4	0	0
	Brickleyes	...	13	5	0	0
	Brickleys (1900)	...	—	13	2	33

Here it will be noticed that the modern acreage varies very considerably, nor is the reason far to seek. The name, as well as the surface of the field to-day, both show that it was used as a brick

¹ Essex Arch. Soc. *Transactions*, vol. x., N.S., 171.

field; and, no doubt, all the bricks used in building the mansion were made there. So long as bricks were required, the brick making portion of it would be kept in the lord's hands; but, when bricks ceased to be made at home, it all became farm-land.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
10.	Slack field	...	3	10	0	0
	Slack field	...	13	12	0	0
	Stack field (1900)	...	—	16	2	0

Some copyist's error is no doubt accountable for the substitution of t for l.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
11.	Campornes' croft	...	3	3	0	0

This name no longer survives, nor can the plot be identified. In 1513 one John Camphorne holds land of the Ely manor in Tassfield, and in 1522 he appears at a Hadham Hall manor court charged with having cut small wood in Brendon, and there are other occurrences of the name in the rolls; it would thus appear that he was a tenant of both manors. In the parish registers the name appears frequently as Camphorne and Cramphorne, down to 1796, and Thomas Cramphorn was a tenant of the Ely manor as late as 1813. The family must have been an old one in the parish, and doubtless, gave its name to the croft.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
12.	Nakewood field	...	7	}	not given	
13.	Newe Park field	...	7			
14.	Byggins	...	7			

These three names only appear once, and are now all lost. No acreage is given for any of the fields comprised in this lease, but in the case of Newe Park field there is a covenant by which the lessor reserves the grass on 6 acres of this to himself, which proves the total of the field to have been more than 6 acres. It is strange that we should get both New and Old Park (17 *infra*) as field names at this early date, for there was no question of any new park before 1634. Nakewood may possibly be a variant of Nupwood, which we shall meet with later (page 46). For what little it has been possible to gather about Byggins see page 44.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
15.	Twelve-acres	...	7	not given		
	Twelve-acres	...	13	12	0	0

This name also appears on a rough plan made at the time of the alterations to the park in 1635, but so vaguely marked that it is not possible to fix its position, beyond that it seems to be adjacent to the old park.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
16.	Woowaters ...	...	7	not given		
	Worwaters ...	...	13	19	0	0
	Hoowaters (1900) ...	...	—	36	0	37

Here again the copyist is responsible for the change of W into H, if indeed Hoowaters be not the correct form, as seems probable, from the fact that the adjacent field is South Hoo, and the lane to the north Hoo lane. The acreage has much increased, but the explanation is simple. What is now known as Hoowaters is made up of two fields, the western one the original Woowaters, while the eastern half was only bought by Arthur Capell in 1633, and then bore the name of Chylleshott, and must have formed part of the manor of Upwick. This latter name is now entirely lost, but it is clear that only the original Woowaters was included in the lease of 1725, Chylleshott remaining in the lord's hands; Chylleshott must have been in old days used as part of the park, for in the tythe map of 1844 it appears as Red Deer park, a name by which it is still also known among the old people. According to the title deeds of 1633, it contained 18 acres, and this, taken from the modern acreage, leaves very nearly the 19 acres of the Woowaters of 1725.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
17.	Olde Park ...	...	7	not given		
	Old Park ...	...	13	14	0	0
	Old Park (1900) ...	...	—	13	2	18

Here the identification is quite clear, and is further supported by the acreage. The field adjoins the old park; hence, doubtless, the name, which survives to-day.

One problem, however, arises in connection with this field which I cannot solve. Lying west of Old Park field, between it and the rectory land, is a small field of 6 acres, 2 roods, 39 poles, now known as Old Park pasture. Unless this was included in Old Park in the old leases, in which case the acreage varies more than is usual, I cannot account for it in any way, as it never appears in any of the leases in any form that can be identified. It is quite clear that it was part of the manor, and equally certain that it was demesne, but it remains the only piece of the estate which I am unable to trace in the records, unless, as is possible, it was Newe Park field (13 *supra*), and so called in contradistinction to Old Park field.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
18.	Kate Evans ...	...	13	2	0	0

This name occurs once only, nor can I identify it; a small plot, it no doubt became merged into some larger enclosure.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	P.	P.
19.	Nash mead ...	..	13	10	0	0
	Lower Nash mead (1900)	..	—	10	1	38
	See note on 8 <i>supra</i> .					
20.	Jardfeyldes ...	...	4	}	not given	
	Jardfeyldes ...	...	6			
21.	Garottesfield ...	...	4			
	Garottesfield ...	...	6			
22.	A grove ...	...	4			
	A grove ...	...	6			
23.	Two meads ...	...	4	3	0	0
	Two meads ...	...	6	3	0	0

These four fields only appear twice, in 1556 and 1570. Indeed, to be strictly accurate, they only appear once, for the lease of 1556 (4) has not survived. It is, however, recited in full in the later document. No indication is given of where they lay, and in only one case is the acreage named. Jardfeyldes is said to consist of two crofts of land and pasture, while Garottesfield is 'severed into divers parcells'; the Grove lies west of Garottesfield, and the two meads west of the Grove. Jardfeyldes, of all the Hadham field names, is the one which, under many variants, can be traced back furthest, for a terrier of 1386, which survives in a sixteenth century copy, and is said to be a terrier of Sir Thomas Morewelle, sets forth that certain dues are payable to 'the bishop' in respect of Plantynes and that the manor of Bawdes also pays to the Bishop of London rent in respect of Jerveylesfeld. A question arises on the wording of this document whether the first-named bishop be also the Bishop of London, or, as might be the case considering the proximity of the Bishop of Ely's manor, that bishop, but I incline to think that all these lands were held of London, for they were all in Stortford parish, and there is no evidence that the Ely manor extended outside Hadham. It is, of course, curious to find Sir Thomas Morwell representing the Baud manor at this date, but the fact is undoubted, and the reason will be found set out on page 122.

We next hear of Jerveylesfeld in the first extant court roll, 1492, when John Stacy cut down a beech in a certain grove of the lord's called Jerdebil's grove. It seems to have been a favourite spot for trespass, for in 1497 Thomas Sefoull, of Stortford, trespasses with cattle on Jardebelfeld and Plantynes, and is followed three years later by Margery Bush, who destroys the pasture of the lord with her animals in Plantynes and Jardebelfeld meads. Evidently it was regarded as forming part of the demesne, for it appears in the

leases in 1556 as let to John Howes (lease 4) and we hear of it again in 1570 (lease 6). The term covered by these two leases, if completed, would only have expired in 1598, though it is probable, from the wording of the second, that the first did not run its full term of twenty-one years. It is next mentioned in a rental which, though undated, must be between 1595-1602. This document is headed 'the first draught of a survey, but there is a rental engrossed, more perfytt, in the hands of George Pyttes,' the very man to whom the field had been leased in 1570. In this we are told that 'John Miller of Stortford holds a croft called Jarvelde.' It would seem as though the name of the field had approximated to that of its tenant at the end of the sixteenth century. The Jardefelds were a known family, of Stortford, but a Richard was also a tenant of our manor, where he appears in the rolls 1530-1547. In the *Stortford Churchwardens' Accounts*¹ the name is often met under several variants; a Richard, living in Warter lane, supplying timber for the church, and buying 'a Tabernakyll, an awter cloth, banner clothis and staves,' of the church goods, between 1520-1537. The name is now lost, but it is obvious, from its constant association with Plantynes, as well as from its connection with Stortford folk, that it lay on the Plantynes side of the road, and in the Stortford direction. The other three plots were also, probably, in the same neighbourhood, and all have no doubt become merged in the name Plantynes which is now general thereabouts.

	FIELD NAME.		LEASE.	A.	R.	P.
24.	Further Plantynes ...	...	12	10	2	15
25.	Further Plantynes ...	...	12	8	0	0
26.	Plantynes meadow...	...	13	3	0	0
27.	Plantynes pasture ...	...	13	9	0	0
28.	Plantynes ...	...	13	12	0	0
29.	Barn close ...	...	12	8	2	21
30.	Woodes ...	...	12	1	3	18
31.	A close... ...	...	12	5	0	31
32.	Hithermost Plantynes	...	12	5	0	11
33.	Hither Bottom mead	...	12	1	0	9
34.	Further Bottom mead	...	12	1	0	19
35.	Harry Bush mead ...	...	12	2	2	13
	Harrow Bush mead	...	13	3	0	0

24 to 35. Here again we have lands all of which are definitely stated to be in Stortford parish. They occur in the last two leases only, and between these is a period of 108 years, long enough to

¹ J. L. Glasscock, *op. cit.*, index.

allow of the many changes, due to the merger of smaller into larger enclosures, which seem to have occurred, changes which make any recognition very difficult. The earlier lease of 1617 (12 *supra*) accounts for 44 acres, 0 roods, 17 poles, but of these lands only 27 acres are included in the later of 1725 (13). The tendency has clearly been to throw the land into larger enclosures, for it is to-day represented by two fields, Hither and Further Plantynes, which together make up 42 acres, 2 roods, 22 poles. The difference between this and the 44 acres of 1617 may perhaps be accounted for by some small readjustment of boundary with the adjacent Plantynes wood.

The whole question of these Plantynes lands is a difficult one. They amount in all to-day to 61 acres, 2 roods, 11 poles, but this is with the addition of Plantynes wood, and a small strip of land to the west of it. As regards the wood we know that it existed in 1386,¹ and, probably always remained in the lord's hands. It seems as though the manor must have comprised more lands in this direction than we now know of. In compiling the table given below I have included in the demesne lands the 42 acres, 2 roods, 22 poles, of these Plantynes lands as they are to-day; the difference of 18 acres, 3 roods, 29 poles, which goes to make up their present total of 61 acres, 2 rood, 11 poles, has been entered separately, seeing that it was undoubtedly part of the manor.

The acreage of these thirty-five enclosures, taking in each case the earliest given, amounts to a total of 298 acres, 0 roods, 28 poles. The same fields to-day contain 304 acres, 2 roods, 19 poles. The figures are sufficiently close to prove identity, and the difference, some 6 acres, may be accounted for by inexactness in the old measurements, mostly given in round numbers; four of the smaller plots, the names of which are now lost, have no doubt become merged in some one or other of the larger enclosures. The following table will help to make this clear.

TABLE OF THE DEMESNE LANDS, COMPARING THE EARLIEST
ACREAGES WITH THE SAME IN 1900.

Fields which can be identified.		EARLIEST ACREAGE.			ACREAGE IN 1900		
		A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.
Chalk ground ²	...	0	3	0	—		
Brundon ...	...	30	0	0	35	2	3
Brundon Pightel ³	...	1	1	11	—		

¹ *Supra*, p. 24.

² Taken as part of Church field in 1900.

³ I assume this is now merged in Brundon.

		A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.
Highfield ...	...	30	0	0	38	1	34
Grymmell ...	...	50	0	0	48	2	5
Church field ...	...	30	0	0	34	2	38
Conyngery ...	...	30	0	0	34	1	8
Naishe mead ...	...	5	0	0	5	3	11
Brickleis ¹ ...	...	4	0	0	4	0	0
Slack field ...	...	10	0	0	16	2	2
Woowaters ² ...	...	19	0	0	20	0	0
Old Park ...	...	14	0	0	13	2	18
Nash mead ...	...	10	0	0	10	1	38
Plantynes ...	...	44	0	17	42	2	22

Fields which can no longer be identified, but are now no doubt merged in larger enclosures.

	A.	R.	P.			
Camporne ...	3	0	0			
Twelve Acres	12	0	0			
Kate Evans ...	2	0	0			
Two meads ...	3	0	0			
				20	0	0
				298	0	27
				304	2	19

Of these 298 acres, all but the 44 acres of Plantynes undoubtedly formed part of the original manor. As to the Plantynes lands, that is all which lay on the south side of the Hadham-Stortford road, I now have considerable doubt. Recent information has shewn that some land here was purchased by the Bauds in the fifteenth century, land which must have been held of the manor of Stortford, and it may well be that all these Plantynes lands were similarly later purchases. It is, however, certain that in after years they had come to be treated as demesne. If this view be the correct one, it would affect the attempt made on page 16 to reconstitute the 940 acres of the original manor, and would leave 354 acres as unidentified, instead of 291 as there stated. A strong argument in favour of throwing out all the Plantynes lands is that by so doing we have a more natural boundary for the original manor, the main road on the south, and the parish boundary circling it on the other three sides.

¹ I take this at 4 acres in 1900, to make it correspond, though it now contains 13 acres, 2 roods, 33 poles; but see page 21 *supra*.

² See page 23.

THE PARK.

A CONSIDERABLE portion of the manor consisted of park; of the original extent of this we should know nothing, were it not for a document of 1635. Arthur Capell had bought, the year before, the manor of Wickham Hall, which adjoined Hadham Hall park on the east, with the intention of throwing his new purchase into the old park. This scheme involved the diversion of certain old ways which ran through the Wickham Hall land, which it was proposed to empark, and the substitution for them of new ways. In order to do this a royal license was necessary, and was duly applied for. A writ of *ad quod damnum* was issued, and a local enquiry held. From the report of this enquiry we learn that the old park had consisted of 240 acres, to which it was proposed to add 501 more, being the recent Wickham Hall purchase.¹

The scheme was carried out, with the natural result that the old boundary of the Hadham Hall manor was completely obliterated on that side, so that it is not easy to-day to recognize the 240 acres which alone formed the old park. I have endeavoured the task, and shew on the plan of the manor (coloured pink) the area which seems likely to have formed it. Several considerations support the correctness of this attribution. First, it is clear that the 'old ways' were outside the old park, for they only come to be considered when the addition is to be made to it; its area must therefore have lain entirely inside these 'old ways,' both on the north and east. A plan which was prepared in 1635 to shew what was intended to be done with these 'old ways,' proves that the old way must have lain on the north of the old park, and did not interfere with it on that side.² From where it left the old park, on the north side, it ran through the Wickham Hall land; and it was obviously this fact which led to the proposal to close this portion of the way, and to replace it by a new way, which should continue on as the northern boundary of the new park as far as Wickham Hall itself. Next, the old park must have included what is yet known as Hadham old park lodge farm, for the name proves this to have been one of the entrances to the old park. If, bearing these facts in mind, we measure off on the plan 240 acres, we shall find the boundary line on the east and north exactly conterminous with the boundary of

¹ The license, which gives all these particulars, is in my possession.

² The old and new ways, as shewn on this plan, are laid down from it on the plan of the manor.

the parish. Now Hadham Hall manor occupied practically the whole of that part of the parish which lies north of the road from Standon to Bishop's Stortford. From Bysouths on the west, round the demesne lands of Brundon, Highfield, Great Corny, Nash mead, and Grim hill, up to Woowaters, the parish and manor boundaries are identical. Here, for one short space, they diverge; for Woowaters breaks into Albury parish, just as the adjacent Chylleshott, till its purchase by Arthur Capell in 1633 a portion of the Upwick manor, breaks into Little Hadham parish. From this point onwards, the boundary of the area I allot to the old park again follows the line of the parish boundary until it joins the road.

It cannot be said that manor boundaries always run with parish boundaries, but they oftentimes do so, and we are entitled to say in this case, especially seeing how well the facts accord, that they did, and that the northern and eastern sweep of the parish boundary does give us, with one slight exception, the boundary of the manor on these sides, and therefore the boundary of the 240 acres which formed the old park.

To reconstitute the portion added by Arthur Capell to the park in 1635 is not so simple a task. We know that he purchased the Wickham Hall manor with the intention of enlarging the Hadham Hall park, and that it was necessary, in order to do this, to divert the 'old ways' which then ran through the Wickham Hall land. The fortunate survival of the contemporary plan, above referred to, which shews these 'old ways,' and the 'new way' which was made to replace them, enables the northern boundary of the Wickham Hall estate, and therefore of the new park to be fixed accurately, for it is clear that the 'new way' must have become this boundary (except where it passes through Moorfield which could not become park, seeing that it was copyhold). The southern boundary was, of course, the high road from Little Hadham to Stortford, while the western boundary must have been the parish frontier, for we found this to be the eastern limit of the old park. The eastern boundary can now only be fixed in part; the southern portion of it, from the road as far as Hoggate's wood is, no doubt, the present boundary of the Wickham Hall estate¹; the northern portion of it can only be arrived at by calculation. We know by the purchase deeds of 1634, as well as from the license to empark of the following year, that the Wickham Hall estate comprised 501 acres; if then we take the boundaries so far as they can be fixed, and measure off 501 acres, we get the area I have marked green on the plan.

¹ Compare the plan opposite page 15 with the plan of the manor; both shew the coincidence of this portion of the boundary.

The making of this 'new way' is further confirmed by a deed of 1639, which shews that in order to carry out the plan three further roods of land had to be purchased from one Thomas Thompson, of Berden in Essex, at a cost of 7*l*. These 3 roods were parcel of a close of land called Shipman's Shott, in the parish of Farnham, and are described as 'now layd out for a highway from Albury unto Stortford, *i.e.* the new way.' They were bounded on the north by the remainder of Shipman's Shott, and on the south by the 'wood ground of the said Arthur Capell called Livery wood.' The plan of the manor shews exactly where these three roods must have been. Their purchase was probably necessary in order to prevent the destruction of any portion of Livery wood.

The eastern boundary thus arrived at leaves Wickham Hall itself as the entrance to the park on that side; and this we know it to have been, for it is called Hadham new park lodge in a lease of 1719, clearly in contradistinction to Hadham old park lodge. The only difficulty is that this boundary leaves outside it, on the east, a considerable amount of land, some 187 acres, which certainly belonged to the Capell estate in 1900. This land will best be realized by comparing the plan of the manor, which shows the Wickham Hall portion of the park coloured green, with the plan opposite page 15, which gives the extent of the Capell property in 1900. Sixty-three acres of this non-park land are definitely mentioned in the lease of the Wickham Hall farm of 1719, to be referred to presently, and the explanation no doubt is that the whole 187 acres were due to later purchases on this side of which there is now no record. One such purchase, of 8 acres, Holgate's land, made by Arthur Capell in 1635,¹ we do know of, and it seems very probable that, in later years, more was purchased on this side by Arthur Capell's successors, as we know that much more was similarly added to the property on the south of the original Hadham Hall manor. The whole contour of the latest (1900) eastern boundary of the estate, with its broken line and detached piece, goes far to support this theory.

It may be taken then as fairly certain that the area coloured pink and green on the plan represents accurately both the old park of 240 acres and the addition of 501 acres made to it in 1635, which combined to form the Hadham park from 1635 to 1686.

By 1635 the Capells must thus have held of park 741, and of demesne, roughly, 304 acres—1045 in all. Leaving Hadham, as

¹ This plot cannot be identified. Holgate is, no doubt, a variant of Hoggate, which exists to-day, and is shewn on the plan. The 8 acres appear in a rough sketch made in 1635, in connection with the diversion of the old ways and the making of a new way; in this they lie to the east of the park, and near by Hoggate's wood. The name also appears as Holyate, clearly a misreading.

they did, about 1668, the whole of this was, within a few years, turned into farm land, and three leases enable us to say with some accuracy what the new arrangements were as regards 922 acres of this land. The park remained park, or at least some portion of it did up to 1686, as we learn from a curious note brought to light by the Camden Society.¹ On October 1st in that year there was 'payd to Thomas Howard, yeoman of the tents and toyles, for his charge in removing the toyles and waggons from Whaddon Chace in Buckinghamshire to Haddam Hall Park in Hertfordshire, and taking and removing the redd deer there to Epping Forest and to Bagshot Park,' as well as for sundry other services of the same kind, 152*l.* 7*s.*

By 1686 then the land was broken up into three main farms, known as Hadham Hall, Hadham old park lodge, and Wickham Hall, and whatever buildings the last two possessed were adapted for use as farm houses, as was Hadham Hall itself. Three almost coincident leases of these three farms survive to show how the land was distributed between them. These three leases are:

1. 1725. Hadham Hall farm. Lease to Joseph Scott of a piece of land on the north side of the house, formerly held by John Saville at a rent of 3*l.* (the acreage of this plot is not given, nor can it be identified, but it must have been very small); 111 acres known as Little Hadham park; and various fields specified, stated to contain 270 acres.² This lease was for twenty-one years.

2. 1725. Hadham old park lodge farm. Lease to Arthur and William Wangford, of Hadham old park lodge and 184 acres, part of Little Hadham old park, late held by James Greene, for twenty-one years.

3. 1719. Wickham Hall farm. Lease to Henry Wangford of Hadham new park lodge, *alias* Wickham Hall, and land known as Hadham new park, 294 acres, and also land lying outside the park, 63 acres, for twenty-one years.

The following is a comparison of these three farms at that date, with their disposition in 1900:

		1719-1725.	1900.		
		A.	A.	R.	P.
Hadham Hall farm ³	...	381	398	3	3
Hadham old park lodge farm	...	184	401	2	15
Wickham Hall farm	...	357	501	1	37
		922	1301	3	15

¹ *Camden Soc.*, O.S., vol. lii., p. 135.

² See lease 13, p. 19.

³ Of the Plantynes land (now in all 61 acres, 2 roods, 11 poles) 27 acres were included in the Hadham Hall farm, but the whole 61 acres are now part of Hadham old park lodge farm. There have evidently been other similar re-adjustments, but this is the only one we know of definitely.

From this it appears that the three farms contain to-day more than they did in 1725 by some 379 acres. Moreover they contain more than any of the documents we have been considering account for—for, allowing 501 acres which is always given for Wickham Hall, 240 for the old park, and, say 300 for the Hadham demesne land, we have only a total of 1041 acres, short by 260 acres of the measure of to-day. This difference is, no doubt, largely due to the later purchases on the Wickham Hall side above referred to, and also, in part, to the inclusion of all the Plantynes in the modern total.

The park land, as dealt with in these leases, presents two further difficulties which can be stated but not solved. The two parks comprised as we have seen, in all 741 acres; now the three leases are careful to distinguish this park land, thus:

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 1. Comprises 111 acres of Hadham old park | } 295 acres. |
| 2. Comprises 184 acres of Hadham old park | |
| 3. Comprises 294 acres of Hadham new park |  | 294 acres. |

Total, 589 acres.

Now, first, this total falls short of 741 by 152 acres, the explanation of which must be that we have not got the leases of all the park land. But the second question is not so easy of solution, for the first two leases account for 295 acres of Hadham old park, which is 55 acres more than we need. It would seem that in the ninety years elapsed since 1635 the boundary between the old and new had faded from men's memories.

THE SCOTT TENANCY OF HADHAM HALL.

The Wickham Hall and Hadham old park leases have no further interest for us, but it is otherwise with that of Hadham Hall, seeing that we are attempting to follow the history of the Hadham manor down to the present day. The tenant of Hadham in 1725 was Joseph Scott, and the Scott family forms the link which carries on the story of the house from the time the Capells left it down to the present day. Already in 1677 a Mr. Scott was living at Hadham. This appears from a memorandum of that year entitled 'parcellis of goods taken out of the general inventory of the goods at Hadham under the custody and charge of Mr. Scott, tenant and housekeeper, of such value as may be proper to be annexed to this schedule, the remainder being not of value convenient to be here placed.'

The contents of this inventory, which is very fragmentary, are of no interest, but the rooms mentioned may perhaps be noted. They are a 'brewhouse, washhouse, and kitchen, the room where my lord

Duke of Northumberland lay, the room where the yellow damask bed stands, and the room where Sir Arthur Capell lay.'

The Scotts were a very old family—a John Skot occurs in the deed of 1316, cited on page 1—and they are found in our registers as early as 1574, as also at Stortford. The Mr. Scott of 1677 was Thomas, who after a tenancy of more than forty years 'was gathered to his fathers in peace and buried in a good old age,' August 6th, 1717.¹ There is no entry of his birth in the registers; but his children, born between 1672-1698, do appear. Among them is Joseph, born 1686, who followed his father as tenant at Hadham. The first evidence of this is an insurance effected by him with the Sun Fire office in January, 1723.² In 1725 he took a twenty-one years' lease of the Hadham Hall farm, as above stated, and died in 1752. His son Joseph, born 1722, followed in the tenancy, and is described in the registers, on his death in 1780, as of Hadham Hall. The direct line here breaks, for the next tenant is John Scott, a nephew of Joseph, and son of Thomas, at that time tenant of the neighbouring farm of Wickham Hall. He is referred to in the court rolls in 1820 as of Hadham Hall, where he continued as tenant until 1824, the year of his death. His wife was Mary Sworder, of another old Stortford and Little Hadham family. They had eight children, among them a daughter Jennette (born 1795) who married George Sworder. This George followed his father-in-law as tenant of Hadham until 1842. For the next thirteen years the Scott connection with Hadham is broken, for one John Betts of King's Langley, hard by Cassiobury, is the next tenant. He left his son John³ at first alone, and later with a younger brother Samuel, to manage the farm until 1855. In that year Samuel Betts again brought the Scott line back to Hadham by marrying Elizabeth Ann, granddaughter of John Scott, who had been tenant of Hadham old park lodge farm, and by becoming tenant of Hadham Hall himself in the same year. Mrs. Samuel Betts died in 1893, leaving her husband surviving her. He remained on at Hadham as tenant till 1901, when he removed to Bury Green, where he still lives.

¹ *Little Hadham Registers*. Privately printed, 1907.

² I am indebted for this date to the secretary of the Sun Fire office. Finding a Sun plate on the building, bearing the number 30,958, I communicated with the secretary, who at once sent me a copy of the policy.

³ It was this John who pulled down part of the south wing: his initials with the date 1848 are still on the wall. (*Infra* p. 67.)

THE COURT ROLLS AND LANDS HELD OF THE MANOR.

WE now come to the lands held of the manor under various forms of tenancy, and here there are two sources of information, the rolls of the manor courts, which exist, though with many *lacunæ*, from 1492, and the parish registers. The latter, which enable the relationships of successive tenants to be traced and recognised, after 1559 when they begin, are of great value in confirming and elucidating the rolls. The court rolls, however, note little beyond the petty happenings of a small village, but the mention of them gives the opportunity of saying something of the series which survives.¹ The earliest is of 1492, and six courts are chronicled during the Baud period, the last of these being in 1500. These six are all headed 'Bawdes, *alias* Parva Hadham.' The first Capell court, of which record remains, is of 1511; and during the 333 years up to 1844, we have records of one hundred and twenty-five courts; more often the original roll has survived, but sometimes only a rough draft, or even only an abstract, prepared for some purpose of title.

William Capell, who purchased the manor in 1505, died in 1515, of his courts three are recorded. Margaret, his widow, followed him, but of her courts we have no minutes. In the time of Gyles, her son, whose ownership extended from 1522 to 1556 the records of sixteen courts remain.

Annexed to the roll of 1523 is a receipt from Richard Pryor for the rent due to the Bishop of London in respect of Little Hadham 'holden of his castle of Stortford,' an echo of William Capell's abortive attempt to escape payment of this due in 1511.² The roll of 1528 affords another point worth noting; divers disputes arose between William and John Brett, elder and younger sons of Ralf Brett, as to the title to a tenement late in the tenure of Ralf Brett. William claims it as the elder son, and therefore heir, but John claims by custom as in the (adjacent) manor of the Bishop of Ely. John cannot prove the custom, and the court having considered the

¹ See appendix I, where the dates of the courts of which evidence survives are set out, together with the names of the lord of the manor, and of the steward, where the latter is given.

² Page 8.

matter say they are ignorant. William and John therefore surrender all their rights to the lord, who regrants the premises to Joan Brett, their mother, for life, with remainder to William. It was further agreed between the lord and the tenants, that, for defect of knowledge as to who should inherit, thereafter, for ever, the elder son should inherit as in other manors, according to the law of England and not according to the custom of the court of the Bishop of Ely. Their memories were short; only seventeen years earlier the custom of borough English had been followed in the manor without question; for in 1511 we read that John Benyte, who held certain lands, is dead, and Robert Benyte, his younger son, is thereupon admitted 'according to the custom of the manor.'

That the custom of borough English did prevail in the Ely manor is confirmed by Salmon,¹ and indeed it survives there to the present day, as the following extract from the conditions of a sale which took place on June 16th, 1904, shows: 'Mary Chapman died in the year 1869, intestate, leaving *inter alia* William Chapman, her youngest son, to whom lots 1 and 4 descended according to the custom of descent in the manor of Hadham Parva, of which the same are holden.'

Mainly, as was always the case, the courts were concerned with the devolution of the various holdings, and with maintaining the interest of the lord therein, as well as in connection with his other manorial rights. Trespasses, non-ringing of pigs, neglect of ditch scouring, unauthorized removal of trees, strayings of cattle on to the demesne land, all of which brought fines to the lord, form the most numerous items in the record. Of the wider jurisdiction of the court we find but one instance, when, in 1525, it was used for the collection of a debt. There are no recorded cases of heriots, which do not appear to have existed here. One case occurs, in 1511, of escheat to the lord on the death of a tenant 'he having no several or special heirs,' and there are two cases of seizure by the lord (in 1670 and 1674) for breach, presumably of customs, in the one case for digging up a pasture, when the holding is seized, but is re-granted on a fine of 10s. being paid; in the other, the tenant having allowed a smith's forge to fall down, one acre of his holding is seized. In 1545 it is recorded that a tenant of the manor had committed a felony, and escaped, therefore the lord had seized the premises.

But even with the help of the rolls it is impossible to set down on the plan any definite outline for the lands held of the manor. Many of the holdings have become freehold, and, where no record of this

¹ *Op. cit.*, 281.

is available it is no longer possible to establish their connection with the manor. Again, many of them are vaguely described, their boundaries being given only in terms of adjacent ownership; where such plots lay, as was generally the case, in some one or other of the common fields, the most that can be done is to state the position of the common field.

The position and ownership of some of these holdings does, however, stand out quite clearly, and these I propose to take first. They are marked on the plan of the manor, and their area was as follows:—

			A.	R.	P.
Block A on the plan contained	...	...	3	3	18
Block B on the plan contained	...	...	6	1	26
Block C on the plan contained	...	...	4	3	27
Block D on the plan contained	...	...	28	1	17
Bysouths	...	...	7	0	0
Baggesmead	...	...	1	3	3
Cooper's mead	...	...	1	0	0
			53	1	11

The church of St. Cecilia lies midway between the mansion and the main portion of the village, known, from its position on the little stream, as Hadham-on-Ash. A shaded foot path leads down from the house to the church; this, in its upper portion, is raised above the general level, probably from the material taken out of the moat which surrounded the earliest house. From this fact it has from the time of the earliest record been known as the Church causeway. At its lower end this path joins the lane which runs south to meet the highway at right angles; here several tenements stood, and some yet stand, and the hamlet, as it may be called, has always been known as Church End, the name appears in subsidy rolls of the thirteenth century. To the east of Church End lane, in the angle formed by it with the main road, is the modern rectory (built 1875, and rebuilt after a fire in 1907), standing on land which is described in 1497 as Parson's croft; between this and Church causeway lay two copyhold plots (A on plan); the northernmost of these, which is bounded on the north by the causeway, first appears in the rolls in 1543, when a grant of a 'newly built cottage and a croft of 1 acre being part of the domain' is made to John Herte and Alice his wife. From this date the title runs on without a break down to 1829 when the property came to Edmund Scott. From him it passed to his niece Elizabeth Ann Scott, who married Samuel Betts,¹ and on her death it came to her husband, who enfranchised

¹ *Supra*, p. 33.

it in 1903. Once only, in 1764, this holding is called Causeways. The 'newly built cottage' has long since vanished. The land which lay between this and Parson's croft first appears as held by Richard Stockbrige in 1493; and its title also follows down quite clearly to 1820, when it is bought by the same Edmund Scott: its history from that date follows that of the last plot. Two very ruinous cottages which stood here, fronting on the lane, were pulled down by the present owner in 1903; they had long been unoccupied. Immediately south of these was a thatched building, once three almshouses, the site of which must at some time have been carved out of this copyhold, and belonged to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor of Little Hadham; they were purchased in 1886 by Samuel Betts for 15*l.*, and demolished. Again, on the same land, and backing on to Parson's croft, two more old cottages stood until 1908, when they too were pulled down and rebuilt in the same position.

The whole of the land on the west side of Church End lane, more generally than not formed one holding (B on plan), and the four acres of it which front on to the highway were always known as Browning's croft, though in the 1844 tythe map they are called Church End pasture. The house which stands just south of the entrance into the churchyard, now the farmhouse, though refronted, is old, as the gables at the back prove. The land lying on the north side of the entrance was known as the Saffron garden; on a portion of this a stable and barn, built in the 18th century, now stand. The title to the whole of the land included in block B, except to one half rood to be spoken of directly, begins with the earliest extant court roll in 1492, when Roger Morgan held it; from that date it also may be traced down to 1820, when it comes to the same Edmund Scott and its later history is but a repetition of that of the lands comprised in block A; like them it is now freehold, and a part of the main estate. It is interesting to note that from 1563 to 1614 it belonged to Richard Monk who held the lease of 192 acres of demesne land in 1556.¹

Lying on the west of Saffron garden, and between it and the churchyard, is half a rood of land on which once stood a messuage. By 1820 this, with the Saffron garden, and all the Church End copyhold lands had passed to Edmund Scott, and it was evidently then regarded as copyhold, for it also was enfranchised in 1903, on the sale from Samuel Betts to the present owner. Its insignificance, combined with ignorance as to its history, must have occasioned this merger, for it never had been copyhold. At one time it must

¹ *Supra*, p. 18.

have formed part of the churchyard, its messuage perhaps the parish clerk's house; and this suspicion is confirmed by an entry in the court rolls of 1589 'that the inhabitants of Little Hadham have sold an enclosure on which the church house stood, but by what title is not known, to William Parrante.' Both William and Thomas his successor held other land hereabouts, and Thomas seems to have been of a troublesome nature, for there are frequent charges against him noted in the records. In 1609, he has erected '*quoddam sterquilinum in et super vastum domini*,' for which offence he is fined 2s. 6*d.*, and is ordered to remove the same. In 1613, he and his wife '*erexerunt monticulos in via regia ducenda versus ecclesiam*,' *i.e.* Church End lane, which said '*monticuli*' they are ordered '*abscarriare*,' under a penalty of 3s. 4*d.*, and in the very next year he obstructs the church way with timber, penalty, 10s.; all of which goes to show that half a rood of land is too small to allow its occupant to dispose of his rubbish. The freehold title of this scrap of land goes on clear to 1820, after which, passing to Edmund Scott, it merges unconsciously into the adjacent copyhold, but comes to its own again in 1903. All the land comprised in these two blocks, A and B, passed on the enfranchisement by Samuel Betts in 1903 to the present owner of the Hadham Hall estate.

The next block (C on plan) is not quite so easy to trace, for the holdings which composed it, though they occur constantly in the rolls, appear to have been from time to time broken up and recombined. It occupies the tongue of land lying between the Ash on the east and the Little Hadham-Albury road on the west. Sometimes all of it, sometimes part of it only, is described as Wiseman's croft. Its earliest occurrence in the rolls is in 1512 when the tenants of Wiseman's croft are ordered to be present at the next court to shew by what tenure they held. The same summons is repeated in 1528 and 1529, but cannot have been obeyed, for in 1530 distraint is ordered to be levied. Unfortunately the records for the next seven years are lacking, so we do not know what the result may have been. After that the holding continues to descend through a long list of tenants which it were idle to repeat. To-day the northern end of it is pasture, while on the south it is occupied by several small tenements which help to form the village of Hadham-on-Ash. Portions of it (47, 48, and 49 on the Ordnance Survey) still remain copyhold of the manor, and are now held by Mr. Samuel Betts.

The next block, D on the plan, is much larger. At the south-west corner of it lay High Bank croft, clearly described on its first appearance in the rolls in 1499 as lying between Brundon on the

north, the highway on the south, the rectory land and Wright's land on the west, and Nash field on the east. It generally went with Chalk croft, with which it was held in 1775 by James Meredith who died in that year. Its western boundary, as given in 1499, would be puzzling, were it not for the light shed on it by two terriers now in the possession of the rector of the parish. Wright's land and the rectory land are clearly the two small plots still known as the Hop ground and the Harp; these terriers prove the Hop ground to have been Wright's land, while the Harp was, at that date, glebe. The terriers are dated 1637 and 1664; in the first we find 'one parcell of land called by the name of Parsonage Harp, abutting upon the lands of Mr. William Wright west, and on the lands of John Sabine east, contayninge by estimation one acre more or less.' The later document, of 1664, varies the description slightly, for it there appears as 'one acre of land more or less called Parson's Harp atte the Nasshe, against the King's highewaye aforesaid towards the south, and the land of William Wright towards the north, and the customary land of ffelix Calverd towards the east, nowe in the tenure and occupation of William ffeast.' From this it is clear that the Hop ground was long in the tenure of the Wrights, and that a William Wright held it from 1637 to 1664, no doubt the person whose death is chronicled in the registers as occurring in 1681. It will be noticed that in the two entries his holding is described as both north and west of the Harp, this is strictly accurate, as it bounds it on the north-west side. The eastern boundary of the Harp is, of course, High Bank croft, and here the tenant was John Sabine in 1637,¹ and ffelix Calverd in 1664, both holding of the manor of Hadham Hall. Parson's Harp is no longer glebe; how and when it ceased to be so we shall see directly, when we come to speak of Parson's acre, which lay in Nash field.

The remainder of block D on the plan made up what was always called Nash field, though in later times it has come to be known as Mill field common; I can find no better authority for this change than the Ordnance Survey, which, probably, did not know of the old name, and adopted the new one from the mill which now stands near the centre of the field. This mill is, however, not mentioned in any of the old records. Nash field was broken up into many small holdings difficult to disentangle; some of them have individual names, but only two or three can be definitely located. Chalk croft is quite clear, for it lay on the north side and abutted on High

¹ Admitted as tenant in 1634, on the death of his brother Robert. A Sabine had held it before 1580.

field, and remains a chalk pit where lime is burnt to this day. It first appears under this name in 1499, and in 1753 it contained 3 acres. Le Nash, a customary cottage tenement containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre, must also have been in this field, and occurs in 1775 with Chalk croft, Pitches, and High Bank, all then held by James Meredith. Pitches croft, of 3 acres, seems to have lain somewhere to the west of Chalk croft. One other small plot, Half-acre croft, appears once in the rolls, in 1523, as being in this field.

Sump lane passed diagonally through Nash field; and, in 1589, it was held that this was never used for carts, though beasts were allowed to pass along it to the common field; the modern track way, though it has lost the name, fully confirms this decision.

It is a curious feature of the two manors which made up the parish of Little Hadham that their holdings in the common fields were so inextricably intermixed; Nash field well illustrates this; the bulk of it was held of the manor of Hadham Hall, but two plots certainly belonged to the Ely manor, while a third was glebe. The first of the Ely holdings took its name from Sump lane, and is described as one could wish all these small plots were described:—‘Sump pightle, consisting of three roods, with a pightle adjacent, between land of William Capell in the occupation of Robert Benett on the north, and land of John Benett on the south; one end abutting on land of William Capell on the west, the other on the highway from Hadham to Albury on the east.’ Though one cannot exactly place these three roods, it is clear that they lay on the east side of the field, fronting on the road; the Benetts often appear as tenants of the Hadham Hall manor at this date, 1513. Near by must have been another acre, also of the Ely manor; but for this, unfortunately, only personal boundaries are given. Both these last holdings were part of the lands purchased by William Capell in 1513, and will be referred to again, when we come to deal with the Extent of that date.¹

Not only was Nash field thus shared between the two manors, but the two terriers referred to above in connection with the Parson’s Harp, give us another acre of glebe, also in Nash field, the situation of which can be definitely located. In 1637 it is thus described:—‘One parcell of ground called or knowne by the name of Parsonage acre abutting upon the land of the aforesaid Mr. Capell north [*i.e.* on High field] and upon the land of Thomas Allen south and east, and on the west on the land of John Sabine, contayninge one acre more or less.’ The 1664 terrier may also be

¹ *Infra*, p. 53.

quoted, as shewing a change of tenants of the adjoining plots;— ‘One acre of land more or less, called Parson’s acre, lying against the land of John Smith in the occupation of Elizabeth Allen against the east, and the land of ffelix Calverd, in the occupation of William ffeast, against the west [*i.e.* Chalk croft]; one head abutteth upon a common field called Nash field against the south, and the north head abutteth upon the land of the said Earl of Essex called Hyghefield.’

These two portions of glebe no longer belong to the rector, and a note appended to the earlier terrier explains how this has come about; in this Mr. F. Randolph, the then rector of Much Hadham, which at that date comprised Little Hadham, says that in 1861 the two holdings were exchanged under the Enclosure Act for 2 acres in Taskfield common, on part of which the present school house was built, the remainder being devoted to garden allotments; this apportionment of these 2 acres in what was once known as Taskfield continues to the present day. Parson’s Harp became, as the result of the exchange, copyhold of the Ely, now Salisbury, manor, of which it is now held by Mr. T. Hummerstone.

Three further comparatively large copyhold holdings can be definitely identified. The first of these, Bysouths, lies a little to the west of Parson’s Harp. It is described in 1584 as lying by the way from Brothyn (Braughing) to Stortford on the south, and abutting on Brundon wood to the north. Its title can be traced from 1523, when it appears as ‘a certain close called John Besowthies,’ to 1767, and its area is 7 acres down to that date, when it drops to four. Three acres evidently came to be joined to the demesne field of Brundon, which helps to account for the increased area of this noticed above (page 20). The remaining 4 acres must in some way, probably by enfranchisement, have got lost to the manor, as they now form part of the adjacent property on the west. We hear of these 4 acres as a separate holding in 1818, in the directions for a perambulation of the parish drawn up by some officer at that date, and now in the possession of the rector. In this they are called ‘a field of Wyman’s, opposite the gate to Hull farm’ (now Little Hadham place) which exactly describes their position. This, as the plan shews, has caused the Hadham Hall land to break away from the parish boundary at this point, whereas it formerly coincided with it for a considerable distance.¹

The second of these pieces, Baggesmead, can also be absolutely identified. In 1580 the free tenants appeared and admitted holding

¹ As to this see *supra*, page 29.

of the lord; among them, Henry Samy held a piece of meadow called Baggesmead, in Tassefield, containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre. In 1619 he has sold to William Wright, Baggesmead of 1 acre, between the highway on the west and the brook on the east, abutting on land late of J. Miller on the north. This marks it as the field, now freehold, and known as the Angel field, which lies on the east side of the road from Hadham-on-Ash to Much Hadham, immediately south of the smithy now occupied by the Gilletts; William Wright is to be distrained on to appear at the next court. But the name appears earlier, for in 1513 an adjacent plot is described as bounded by a field 'late Lambert Draxe now William Capells called Baggesmead.' Lambert Drakes is a suitor at a court in 1499, but died in that year, since in 1500 'heredes terrae et tenentes de Drakes' appear as in default, and the statement of 1513 must mean that the land became forfeit to the lord, to be later regranted. We hear of it once in the interval between 1513 and 1619, when, in 1525, enquiry is ordered to be made as to whether it forms part of Tassefield, which lay across the brook, to the east. It clearly did not, but unfortunately the roll which would give the result of the enquiry is missing. The field never appears again after 1619. It is now the property of Samuel Betts.

The third piece of copyhold of which we can be absolutely certain, we learn of only on its enfranchisement in quite modern times, for it cannot be identified as appearing in any of the court rolls. It lay on the opposite side of the road to Baggesmead, a little to the south. The whole of the land extending from opposite Baggesmead up to what was Hull farm, now Little Hadham place, was up till recently formed of small enclosures, the bulk of them copyhold of the old Ely manor; these were all enfranchised in 1876, and are now thrown into a park. One of them was known as Cooper's mead, the larger portion of which was held of Ely, but one acre of it depended on the Hadham Hall manor, and is thus described in the enfranchisement of 1885: 'All that piece of land containing one acre with the barns buildings and orchards thereto belonging, which said barns and buildings have long since wasted, being at the Ford at Little Hadham, and formerly part of a meadow called Cooper's mead, abutting upon the Queen's highway on the east, upon part of the Hull farm towards the north, and upon the remainder of the said close called Cooper's mead towards the south.' The remainder, and larger part of Cooper's mead, containing 2 acres, 1 rood, 29 poles was held of the Ely manor. This was enfranchised in 1876, when it is described as 'a messuage and close called Cooper's mead lying on the west side of the road from

Ash to Ford, excepting so much of the close as is part of the manor of Little Hadham, and being the north part thereof.' This enables us to identify our acre exactly. There is no message there now.

The remainder of the land held by the tenants lay scattered about and can neither be identified, nor can its total be ascertained with any accuracy. It is possible to follow the devolution of some of the holdings as they pass from generation to generation; but, oftentimes, the break of continuity in the series of rolls makes even this impossible. For example 1 acre in Tassfield may appear again in the rolls after a long interval, under a different owner, but there is no certainty, so many were the small holdings in this field, that is the same acre. There seem to have been some twelve holdings in all, beyond the 53 acres already definitely identified, amounting to some 35 acres, which would give a total of 88 acres in all held of the manor. Most of these twelve holdings have no distinguishing names, their boundaries are generally expressed in terms of adjacent ownership, and they all lay in one or other of the common fields. Scattered through the rolls, however, in various connections, are many names of common fields, of holdings in them, and of boundaries. These I have extracted and grouped in order, adding such information as the rolls themselves, or other sources, supply. Where identification has been possible they are set down on the plan.

1. Black lane occurs in 1609 but I am unable to identify it.

2. Bolles mead appears once only in the court rolls, in 1546, nor is any information then given as to its acreage or position; but the question is complicated by the extent of 1513, for in this we shall meet with a croft of 8 acres called Bolles and a grove of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres called Bollesgrove, both held of the Ely manor. Here all that need be said of them is that the three must have lain together, seemingly in Tassfield.

3. Brodefield in Stortford. In 1529 Thomas Harryngton sells 1 acre in this field to John Wyley, of Stortford, who hereafter constantly attends the manor courts, and the same 1 acre appears down to 1744. In 1672 William Reade is admitted to, semble, this land, then described as abutting on George Holgate's land on the south. The only Broadfield I can trace to-day lies north-east of Hoggates wood, but this is on the extreme eastern boundary of the Wickham Hall manor, which was not owned by the Capells before 1634. If the identification be, as it seems, correct, the explanation must be that Broadfield was an outlying bit of the Hadham manor.

4. Broom croft appears four times. In 1600 it lies next to Pigwin's croft and Westfield, and has been held by George Samay,¹ then deceased, a free tenant. In 1615 Henry Samay, his son, holds a close of underwood of $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres called Brome which he sells to Ridsen. By 1625, when Ridsen sells to Orgar, it has become 4 acres of wood called Broom, and the area remains the same in 1630, when Orgar sells to Whelpson; the rent was 2*d.*, and it must have been of free tenure. Westfield we shall come to later² and the 1600 roll shows Henry Samay holding four plots, making 7 acres in all, in or close to Westfield.

5. Busshmeade in Stortford occurs only in 1589 and the entry is a curious one: 'Thomas Chandler who held 2 acres in Busshmeade in Stortford between Stortford Park on the east and south had surrendered to Henry Capell, now deceased, but then being lord, and had taken the same to the use of himself and his heirs. Arthur Capell is his heir.' This was at the first court of Arthur Capell, Henry, his father, having died in June, 1588. A Thomas Chaundler appears as a suitor at a court of 1580, and though the wording of the entry just quoted is not very clear, it would seem that Busshmeade must have been held of our manor until its surrender by Chandler to Henry Capell, when it passed into the demesne. This interpretation gains strength from the fact that we never meet with Busshmeade again in the rolls, unless, as is possible, it be the Harrow Bush mead which we met with as demesne land in 1617 and 1725.³ This was certainly in Stortford parish, nor is the acreage very different.

6. Bussches croft is dealt with in 1511, though no detail is then given; but in 1538 it is said to be parcel of a holding of 6 acres. In 1540 a mead called Bussches, of 2 acres, appears, and in 1674 we get 2 acres in Tassfield, called Busses croft, which entry connects it with 1540, and locates it as in that field.

7. Byggins occurs in the rolls as a boundary only, and is described (1626) as the lord's land, and, as such, is comprised in a demesne lease of 1574.⁴ It must, from the context, have been near Woowaters. We meet with the name, however, in another way, as in 1497 and 1499 the tenants of Byggins are spoken of as suitors to the court, being fined for default. This cannot have been the land called by this name; the more likely explanation is

¹ George Samay—the name is spelt in many ways, also held Baggesmead. From 1560 to 1717, the date of the last entry in the registers, the family was one of the most numerous in the parish. Sammy's croft, a plot in Taskfield appears as late as 1837.

² See Westfield, 26 *infra*.

³ *Supra*, p. 25.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 22.

that the tenants of the manor of Byggins, which lay near Standon, and was owned by the Bauds, who were still lords of the manor of Hadham at these dates, were expected to attend the Hadham courts, but had failed to do so.¹

8. Chalkacre was an unidentified holding in Tassfield, and only appears twice, in 1619 and 1622.

9. Dynell's occurs as half an acre when sold to William Wright in 1609, but in the following year the purchaser is admitted to the same close of 1 acre. There is no indication as to its locality, nor does it appear again.

10. Edwins was held with Broom croft and abutted on Westfield; the name only occurs once, in 1600.²

11. Hawards. This tenement appears only in 1706, when the tenant, William Wright, being dead, and no heir appearing, proclamation is made; there is no record of the result, nor is any identification possible.

12. Hunts croft is named as a boundary in or near Westfield, but it is not possible to say whether it formed part of the manor or not.³

13. Jenkin's Leys, a close of 2 acres, appears only once, in 1615, with no identification. It was held, at a rent of 2*d.*, by John Sell who parts with it in that year to Henry Samey. Samey held other land of the manor, and appears constantly as attending its courts down to his death in 1638, but this holding is never referred to again. It is perhaps the same land as that which occurs, eighty-five years earlier, in the next entry.

14. Lyes. In 1530 John Bollyngton holds 2 acres in Leyes, and in 1541 surrenders 2 acres lying in Great Leys, near the park pale, to Richard Jardefeld. Ley is a very common field name in Stortford parish, especially on the eastern side of it, where the Hadham Hall manor undoubtedly held land; we find, for example, the Ley and Preston's Leys close to Plantynes. The 'park pale' must, I feel confident, mean Stortford and not Hadham park. Stortford park survives to-day as the name of a farm house lying just to the south of Further Plantyns. It is clear that lands held of the Hadham Hall manor must have lain between Stortford park and the eastern boundary of Stortford parish, though all trace of them is now lost.

15. Morefield was one of the common fields, and the name survives in Moorfield Spring, which exists as a small wood to-day.

¹ See *infra*, p. 49, in support of this theory, when we learn that the tenants of Upwick, another Baud manor, were also expected to attend the Hadham courts.

² See Westfield, 26 *infra*.

The small plots in which it was held have no distinctive names, and the following may be taken as typical of the way in which they are described: 'three acres in Morefield, between land of R. Monk on the south, and land late in the tenure of N. Dyer on the north.' However, the field itself can be clearly made out as lying to the north and east of Chyleshott; its then acreage is impossible of discovery, nor dare one say that it was conterminous with the field which to-day represents it. One of the plots in it is described as abutting on Livery wood on the east. No wood of this name now exists, but a field in Farnham parish which exactly fits the position is yet known as Livery wood field. A part of Morefield must have been the only portion of the manor which lay in the parish of Farnham.

16. Nupwoods is first mentioned in 1589 as part of a grove of 3 acres, but it is not until 1600 that we have any description of it as being free land in Farnham. In 1674 there is mention of certain free lands called Nupputts, which I take to be a variant of Nupwoods. Only a very small portion of the manor lay in Farnham parish, and Nupwoods must have been a part of this. The name is found in Farnham, and I am indebted to the Rev. J. G. Geare, the present rector, for the following information respecting it. There is a book in the bursary of Trinity college, Oxford, in the handwriting of Henry Yardley, sometime Fellow of the college, and rector of Farnham, 1745-1756, on its presentation. In this Mrs. Newman on the Green is named as occupying the two Nupputs of 8 acres. Again, John Wilkinson held Nupwoods, five pieces arable, two pasture, 17 acres; and, lastly, in Albury parish, Nupwoods, 8 acres, is said to be rented by George Littlechild. This supplies a choice of Nupwoods, but does not, unfortunately, locate any of them.

17. Pigwin's croft appears only as a boundary, in 1600, being named with Broom and Edwins, near to which it lay; it must, therefore, have been in Westfield, or close thereto.¹

18. Sholand appears under several variants; by 1616 it becomes Shirland, or Shurland; in 1844 it is Shetland, and in 1857 Shelland. Like other of the common fields in the parish it was shared between the two manors. Most of it belonged to the Ely manor, but two holdings, each of 1 acre, appear in the Hadham Hall rolls. The extent of 1513, to be referred to later, would enable its position to be fixed, even if we did not find the name in the tythe map of 1844, for it describes 'a piece of land lying in Sholand containing one acre, between the land of the Bishop (*i.e.* Ely), in the tenure of

¹ See Westfield, 26 *infra*.

John Samay on the south, and the common way foot path from Stondon to Stortford on the north, one end abutting on the highway from Great Hadham to Walden on the east, and the other on land of the said Bishop on the west.' The foot-path from Standon to Stortford no longer exists, having been closed in 1857. It is a little odd to find Saffron Walden given as the objective of a road which we should be content to say led to Albury, but it is clear that Sholand, by whatever name it be called, lay to the north of Westfield, and between it and Bugwood, which we shall meet with later as another common field.

19. Southoo is again a field which varies its spelling, nor does much land seem to have been held in it. In 1511 R. Benyte holds 1 acre in Southoo abutting on Southoo grove on the east. In 1538 it becomes Southfield, in 1596 Southow, in 1616 Southoe; and this same 1 acre persists in the rolls down to 1697, and must have survived as copyhold down to 1854, when Folly farm, of which it now forms part, was bought by Charles Stacy; for in the particulars of sale of that date one acre is said to be copyhold of Hadham. The field was then known as Southey. It lies north of Grim hill, and west of Woowaters.

20. Stockley croft appears only as a boundary, and must have lain between Westfield and Stockley lane which leads up from Hadham ford to Westland green. There is nothing to show that the croft was held of the manor.¹

21. Tassfield was perhaps the largest common field of the manor, certainly it was the one in which we have the largest number of holdings recorded. By 1622 it has become Taskfield, the form which survives in the enclosure award. In it were a large number of small holdings, of free tenure, two only of which bear definite names in the rolls, namely Bushes and Chalk crofts. The field lay in the angle formed by the Hadham-Stortford and Hadham-Much Hadham roads. This field again was evidently shared between the two manors.

22. Teyntor's Shott occurs twice in the rolls, and was the name given to that portion of Church field which lay between the churchyard and Browning's croft. It was always accounted part of Churchfield; and, as such, was demesne land. The old foot-path leading down from the church to the village evidently marks the northern and western boundaries of Teyntor's Shott.

23. Waterfield. In 1511 Richard Green encroached on this field by making a hedge 20 perches long, which he is ordered to remove, under penalty of 6s. 8d. If this Richard Green be the

¹ See Westfield, 26 *infra*.

man of that name who, in 1545, was fined 3*d.* for making a path in Nasshe mead from his house to Church field, we may suggest that Waterfield was another name for Nash mead which lay, as we know, on the brook.

24. Weafer's garden, no doubt the same as Walbers, in 1636 was held by Edward Stacey, who has licence to cut down an ash. In 1671 Edward is dead, and his son Edward is admitted. In 1697 the name again changes and becomes Waiters, on the sale from Stacy to Sarah Eve. It lay in Albury parish abutting on the way from Hadham hall to Upwick on the east and the demesne land on the west, and was therefore close to, if not in, Southoo.

25. Webbs, a pightle named in 1600, as being in close to Westfield.

26. Westfield was a common field lying between the present farm of that name and Bridgefoot. It is first named in 1543 when William Cagbrede is distrained on for 5*d.*, rent of free land; three years later the same distraint is repeated, and in 1600 Richard Cakebread, free-tenant, deceased, who held 1 acre, 3 roods, in two pieces in Westfield, is succeeded by his wife Marion. This same roll gives the only other holdings which occur in or near this field; the extract is worth quoting, both as summing them up, as well as for the number of names it contains,—George Samey, deceased, held two crofts enclosed, *viz.*, Broome croft, lying next the croft called Pigwin's croft on the south, and a field called Edwin's on the north, abutting on Westfield on the south; and 1 acre in Westfield next the land of Reginald Thorne on the north, and land of Richard Thorne on the south; and 1 acre in the same field next to Thomas Stacy on the north and land late Reginald Thorne on the south, one end abutting on the water running towards Great Hadham; and a pightel called Webbs of 1 acre, next land late Nicholas Wall on the south, and the road from thence to Westleton (now Westland) green on the north, one end abutting on Stockley croft on the east, the other on Hunts croft, late George Samey's on the west. The rent is 8*d.*, and Henry Samey, the son, is admitted. The description of these holdings was definite enough in the days when their tenants were known; to-day all we can hope to do is to say that we know where Westfield lay, and that these various small crofts and pightels were situate in or near it. Of only one of them is any natural boundary given, which remains recognisable to-day, namely, 'the water running towards Great Hadham,' which is the Ash between its upper crossing the highway at Ford, and its lower crossing at Bridge Foot.

27. Whelpstones. In 1497 the tenants of Whelpstones, and in 1499 the tenants of the manor of Whelpstones, suitors of the court,

are fined as being in default. In 1512 John Eyles, having bought from Elizabeth Tate lands called Whelpstones, is to appear and show how he holds the said lands. Eills is once named, in the next year, as a suitor, and being in default, is fined; nor is Whelpstones ever named again. In the entry of 1499 it is said to be a manor, but no manor of that name existed, so far as I can ascertain. Yet it is curious to note that the tenants of Whelpstones are in 1497 coupled with the tenants of Upwick, as suitors of the court; now Upwick was a manor, and was held by Thomas Baud, then lord of Hadham.

The above list of names found in the court rolls brings out very strongly the fact, already more than once noted, that several of the common fields were shared between the two manors. Hadham Hall seems to have had six common fields, and of these, in Moorfield and Southoo alone the Ely manor does not appear. Westfield, Sholand, Tassfield and Nashfield were all shared by the two manors, and in the first three the Ely manor held by far the larger part. This curious intermingling of the two manors is further proved by an entry in a court roll of the Ely manor of 1580, in which it is laid down that 'none of the inhabitants of this nor of any other manor having intercommon within this manor shall not at any time hereafter keep in the Nashefield above three sheep for every acre, upon pain every one making default to forfeit for every sheep 12*d*.'

The balance was to some degree redressed by the fact that in 1513 William Capell bought a considerable amount of land in these last four common fields; though, of course, this did not affect the dependence of the lands so purchased on the Ely manor of which he must have become a tenant, for the effect must have been that the lord of one manor became a tenant to the adjoining manor. The information we have respecting this transaction is very full, and is worth dealing with in some detail, seeing that it throws considerable light on both manors.

EXTENT OF LANDS ACQUIRED BY WILLIAM CAPELL IN 1513.

Reference has frequently been made to an extent of 1513, which we must now turn to consider. Valuable as giving a further number of field names, as well as further topographical information, the problems it offers connected both with the manors and with the Capells, are not at first sight easy of solution. I propose first to set out the document and then to deal with the questions it raises.

Two copies of it survive, one Latin, one English; between these slight variations exist, though, in the main, they agree. Neither

is dated, but as will be shown presently, the date can be fixed without any hesitation as 1513. The two documents are entitled 'an Extent of the lands at Hadham,' and of the twenty-two holdings therein named, several can be identified by the detailed description given of them.

1. A croft of 8 acres called the Eight acres lying between Tassfield on the west and Millfield on the east, abutting on Millfield on the south, and on the high road from Standon to Stortford on the north. This field, on which a seventeenth-century farmhouse now stands, contains to-day 8 acres, 1 rood, 24 poles; the acreage, together with the description, makes its identification certain.

2. A pightle called Rensebarell, and a piece with it in Tassfield, lying between the aforesaid high road on the north, land of the Bishop of Ely in the tenure of John Cramphorn on the south, abutting east on Eight acres, and west on the aforesaid piece of land. The aforesaid piece of land containing 3 roods and extending from the pightle to the land of the bishop in the tenure of John Benett.

It will be noticed that the area of Rensebarell is not given, but the land which must represent the two holdings to-day contains 1 acre, 2 roods, 16 poles; deducting 3 roods for the piece, leaves 3 roods, 16 poles for the pightle. I have marked the whole of this as Rensebarell on the plan. It is now freehold, the property of Samuel Betts, as is the land of J. Benett on which it abutted west.

3. A piece of land in Tassfield of half an acre, between land of the bishop in the tenure of J. Cramphorne on the north, and the land called Lampacre on the south, one end abutting on Eight acres, the other on land of the bishop in the tenure of J. Benett on the west. This scrap evidently lay south of Rensebarell, between Cramphorne's holding and Lampacre.

4. Two pieces of land together, in Tassfield, of $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres and 3 acres, between land of Richard Stacy on the north, and land of Reginald Thorne on the south; one end abutting on land formerly of Ralf Bawde, called Claypit acre on the east, and the other on the Waterbourne on the west.

Claypit we shall come to presently; and, since the Waterbourne is the Ash, these holdings must have been at the western extremity of Tassfield. It is curious to find a Baud as once owning land in this field, no doubt part of the Hadham Hall manor, and all the more so when we remember that this Ralf Baud died in 1483. It shews how tenacious were men's memories in the old days.

5. A pasture called Russhey plot, in Tassfield, between the church land of Hadham and land of Richard Stacy on the east, and

the land of various owners and Richard Stacy on the west; one end abutting on the wood of the bishop, in the tenure of Thomas Orgar, called the Clowde on the south; the other on the wood of the bishop in the tenure of Richard Stacy, called Round grove, on the north.

No area is given for this. What is left of Clowde (now Clouds) wood lies south of Tassfield, but no doubt extended much further in old days. The church land of Hadham is a curious boundary; the earliest record existing of the glebe is of 1637, but this gives no church land anywhere in this field. Item 3 above, however, speaks of Lampacre, a name which strongly suggests church land. We know, roughly, where Lampacre lay, and Rushey plot was to the west of it. It is possible that it is the plot of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres marked on the tythe map of 1844 as the Ozier ground, the names certainly suggest it, and the position of Rushey must have been somewhere in the vicinity of the Ozier ground. Round grove occurs more than once as a land mark, but it no longer exists, nor can it be placed. Orgar yet remains as a name in the district.

6. A piece of 3 acres in Westfield between land of the manor of Gaddesbury called Cayle land on the east, and land of the bishop in the tenure of Thomas Orgar on the west, one end abutting on Cayle land on the south (the other abutment not given).

We are here taken to Westfield where certain lands of the manor of Hadham lay.¹ Gaddesbury was Gatesbury, the only remains of the manor of that name to-day being Gatesbury mill, standing on the river Rib, close to Braughing station: this ceased to be a mill in 1910. Cayle land survives as Cayley wood, which now lies immediately south-west of Westfield farm. The fact that these three acres were in Westfield proves that Cayle land must have extended further east than the wood does to-day, and must have bounded Westfield on the south.

7. A piece in Sholand, of 1 acre, between land of the bishop in the tenure of John Samey on the south, and the common footway from Standon to Stortford on the north, one end abutting on the highway from Great Hadham to Walden on the east, the other on land of the bishop in the tenure of Samey on the west.

Sholand again was a common field in which the tenants of the manor of Hadham held land.² This acre must have lain close to Hadham ford.

8. One acre called Claypit, in Tassfield, between land of Reginald Thorne on the east and land late Lambert Draxe now William

¹ *Supra*, p. 48.

² *Supra*, p. 46.

Capell on the west, one end abutting on land of Reginald Thorne on the south, the other on land of Richard Stacy on the north.

See 4 above for this plot; its boundaries confirm what was there said as to the Waterbourne. The land, 'late Draxe, now Capell,' is Baggesmead¹ as the next two items prove.

The eight plots so far dealt with have no descriptive heading in the extent. There follow three rents of assize of $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, $2d.$ and $2d.$ payable in respect of two plots in Tassfield and one in Westfield; one of these Tassfield plots abuts on a field 'late Lambert Draxe now William Capell called Baggesmead,' a detail which enabled us to fix approximately the position of Claypit above.

Next comes a list of free tenures as follows:—

9. A tenement in Hadham near the Nasshe (*i.e.* the river Ash, often so called to-day), in which John Norman lives, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of pasture in Hadham, between the highway from Albury to Hadham on the west, and land of the bishop in tenure of John Thorne on the east, one end abutting on (blank) Tullis, called Baggesmead on the south, the other on the highway from Standon to Stortford on the north.

This is the land now occupied by various tenements which form the south-east curve of the present village, running from the bridge over the Ash round to the smithy. Its identification is certain, though the area is now $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The explanation is that the larger area included the 3 roods, 30 poles lying on the east of the river and still remaining as a separate enclosure and now called Shepherd's meadow, which would very nearly make up the area. The fact that the brook is not named in connection with this plot, supports this; for had it been a boundary it would have been given as such, whereas we have land of John Thorne on the east.

10. A croft of 8 acres called Bolles between the land of the bishop in tenure of Thomas Orgar on the south, and land of the bishop in tenure of William Capell on the north, one end abutting on the said pasture of the bishop on the west, the other end on land of the bishop in tenure of Thomas Orgar on the east.

Bollesmead appeared in the court rolls in 1546,² as held of the Hadham Hall manor, and we shall meet with a Bollesgrove lower down (20); but there is nothing to show where they all lay, though it appears likely that they were in Tassfield.

11. Half an acre in Bugeworth, one end of which abutted on the highway from Great Hadham to Little Hadham on the east.

¹ p. 41 *supra*, which fixed the position of Baggesmead.

² *Supra*, p. 43.

This introduces us to a new common field which lay a little to the south of the angle formed by the Standon-Little Hadham, Little Hadham-Much Hadham roads, and north of Sholand. The name occurs under many forms, in 1844 it has become Bugwood and is now Buggard.

12. One acre in Suffeld. The boundaries of this acre are all personal, and afford no clue as to its position, but Southfield was a common field of the Ely manor lying a little to the south of Clouds.

13. Two acres in Tassfield, one end abutting on the Waterbourne on the north, the other on a grove of the bishop called Roundgrove on the south.

The east and west boundaries as given are personal, but no plot in Tassfield could have had the Waterbourne, if by this it meant the Ash, on the north. We know almost exactly where Roundgrove was (5 *supra*), and it seems clear that the cardinal points are here wrongly given. The plot must have had the Ash on the west, Roundgrove on the east, and George Bayford's land on the north and south.

14. Half an acre in Tassfield between the land of the bishop in tenure of Margery Bussh and the highway from Standon to Stortford on the north, one end abutting on land of the bishop in tenure of William Capell on the west.

15. Three roods with a pightle adjacent called Sump pightle, between land of William Capell on the north, and land of John Benett on the south, one end abutting on land of William Capell on the west, the other on the highway from Hadham to Albury on the east.

16. One acre in Nasshefield (boundaries only personal).

Both these were in Nash field and have been spoken of above.¹

Next comes the heading 'Copyholds,' with four items:—

17. One and a half acres in Tassfield, the boundaries of which are all personal.

18. Three roods in the same field, one end abutting on the Waterbourne on the south, the other on the highway from Standon to Stortford on the north. This plot appears ten years later as Solys in Tassfield, and the description makes it quite clear that it is the plot lying immediately to the east of Shepherd's meadow. It remained copyhold until 1901, when it was enfranchised by the then owner, Mr. E. E. Ellcock, by whom it was sold in 1913 to Mr. C. Baker.

¹ *Supra*, p. 40.

19. One and a half acres in Bugwort, abutting north on the highway from Standon to Stortford.¹

20. A grove of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres called Bollesgrove, between the highway from Standon to Stortford on the north and land of William Capell on the south.

Bolles and Bollesmead we have had, but this entry offers the only indication of their position and that a vague one, though it seems likely that they were in Tassfield.

The Extent has given us twenty holdings amounting to 43 acres, 1 rood, to which must be added Rensebarell and Russhey plots—for which no area is given—and all but two of them lay to the south of the Standon-Stortford road. What were these lands? Why was an extent of them drawn up? and what was its date? The document itself enables us to answer these questions only very partially. Let us first see what we learn from it before turning for a fuller explanation to two later documents.

The lands lay mainly in Tassfield (eight holdings), Nashfield (two holdings), Sholand (one holding), and Westfield (one holding), which we know were common fields in which the tenants of the Hadham Hall manor held plots; yet the items contained in the extent are not those we meet with in our court rolls; indeed it is evident all through the document that we are dealing with land belonging to the Ely manor, as it then was, and not to the Capell manor. Next it is clear that William Capell was living when the extent was drawn up, so that its date cannot be later than 1515. Further, two of the items, 10 and 14 show that William was already a tenant of the Ely manor, for the boundary in each of these cases is given as 'land of the Bishop in the tenure of William Capell.' The explanation must be that, as at Rayne he had added largely to his original purchase,² so that at Hadham he followed the same policy.

It is clear, if the theory be correct that this Extent comprises later purchases made by William, that such purchases were of lands held of the adjacent manor, in respect of which he must have become tenant to its lord.

As to this, at any rate in the case of the copyholds which form the last four items in the extent, we have absolute evidence. The manor of Hadham Hall was, we know, settled on Margaret for her life, and on William's death she must have been admitted as tenant to the Ely manor in respect of these. Margaret died in 1522, and

¹ *Supra*, p. 52.

² *Essex Arch. Soc. Transactions*, N.S., xi., 243.

in the following year occurs a 'View of frank-pledge.' In this the homage present that 'Lady Margaret, widow of William Capell died before this Court and was seized for life of (certain lands set out below); Gyles Capell her son is her nearest heir and has taken from the lord the said premises.' Though found among the Capell court rolls the view is clearly an extract from the court rolls of the Ely manor. Now the first four items in it can be definitely identified as being those appearing in the Extent under the heading 'Copyholds.'

Extent of 1513.	View of 1523.
(17) $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Tassfield.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of the tenement of R. Stacy in Tassfield.
(18) 3 roods in Tassfield.	3 roods called Solys in Tassfield.
(19) $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Bugwort.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Bugware.
(20) A grove of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres called Bollesgrove.	2 acres in Bollesgrove.

The three other plots to which Gyles was admitted in 1523 were 7 roods of the tenement of George Bayford in Tassfield, 2 roods of mead abutting on Buckhorn, and 3 roods in Tassfield, these do not appear in the extent, but they may have been purchases made by Margaret herself, carrying on her husband's policy of adding field to field and acre to acre.

Another document which has happily survived, deals with William's later purchases other than copyhold, and puts beyond all doubt the correctness of the theory laid down above, namely that William Capell meant to settle all his later purchases on his wife, but died before the intention could be carried out. These lands had, of course, passed to his son Gyles, who carries out his father's intention by a conveyance dated 1515.¹ This recites that William Capell in 1513 (and this dates the Extent for us) had purchased one messuage, 22 acres of meadow, 2 acres of meadow, one close of land called Eight acres, and other lands lying in the fields called Tassfield, Westfield and Sholand in Parva Hadham, which said premises Gyles by this deed conveys to Margaret Capell, widow, his mother for her life, with reversion to himself. Though there is only one actual connecting link between this conveyance and the extent of 1513, namely the Eight acres, and though the acreages are not comparable, owing to the vague way in which each document gives them, there can be no reasonable doubt but that this conveyance settled on Margaret the lands of free tenure included in the extent, as the copyholds of that document, we know, had passed to her by surrender.

¹ *Additional Charters*, 6212.

The fact that these further lands became part of the Capell estate is thus made clear; but if, as seems certain, they were held of the Ely manor, seeing how strictly manorial rights were enforced at that date, they can never have become incorporated with the Hadham manor. This latter manor, as we have seen, had tenants in Westfield, Tassfield, and Sholand, in which many of the purchases of 1513 lay, and the only solution possible is that the holdings of the two manors in these common fields were inextricably intermixed. It may have been the desire to control the whole, or at least the greater part of these common fields that induced William Capell's purchases.

Of the 940 acres said to have been comprised in the Hadham hall manor we have succeeded in recovering definitely 648, with perhaps 35 more which cannot be located, making a total in all of 683. Where were the 257 which remain lacking? The series of court rolls is not complete, and it may well be that some of these missing acres were dealt with in courts of which we have not the record. I have set out the years for which we have recorded courts in appendix 1, from which it will be seen how the *lacunæ* are distributed over the period; but, considering this, it seems impossible to believe that these missing acres would not have come to be dealt with in some one or other of the courts of which we have minutes. They cannot have been either demesne or park land; for, from what has been said above, we may be certain that we have recovered the whole of this. They must therefore, if ever they existed, have been lands held of the manor under some form of tenure, or common pasture or wood. It was never the policy of the Capells to sell land; on the contrary, throughout their ownership they continued to add to the first purchase, until the 940 acres of 1506 had grown to the 1628 of 1900; moreover, I know sufficient of the adjoining estates to be confident that no considerable portion of any of these was ever derived from any Capell. Again, in my researches into the manor I have, necessarily, learnt much of the adjoining manors, and from what I know of their boundaries and extent it is difficult to see where these missing 257 acres can have lain. In two directions only is it possible that the manor could have reached further than the limits I have suggested for it. On the north the limits of Southoo and Moorfield probably extended beyond what we now know, though here they must have run very close to Upwick manor. On the south-east, what I have called the Plantynes lands, possibly went beyond what I have marked for them, but Stortford park can hardly have allowed them to extend far in this direction. On the south and west the Ely manor, the

HADHAM HALL MANOR



limits of which are fairly well known, hemmed in our manor closely.

On the whole the conclusion seems to be that the original manor did not extend to 940 acres, and in reading the words of the fine of 1506 as 940 acres 'be the same more or less' I am inclined to lay considerable stress on the last word.

THE MANOR HOUSE.

HADHAM must have been a home from the earliest times, and the first house of which any evidence remains, doubtless a timber structure, occupied a site a little to the south-west of the present building, and was, as is so commonly the case in this part of England, surrounded by a moat. Of this, two sides still filled with water, exist, while depressions, plainly visible in the ground, mark the position of its two other sides. This moat site is square and covers about an acre of ground. The importance of the house it protected may be judged from the size of the area it enclosed, which exceeds the average.¹

The present house is but a small fragment of what stood here; but excavations, carried out so far as existing conditions would permit, have revealed the extent of the original buildings. The plan which accompanies these notes is the necessary key to their understanding, and will have to be constantly referred to in reading them. On it the main outline is correctly laid down, though many lesser details, such as fireplaces, are wanting; the existence of trees, as well as of lawns and modern gardens, having made it impossible to follow all the wall faces throughout.

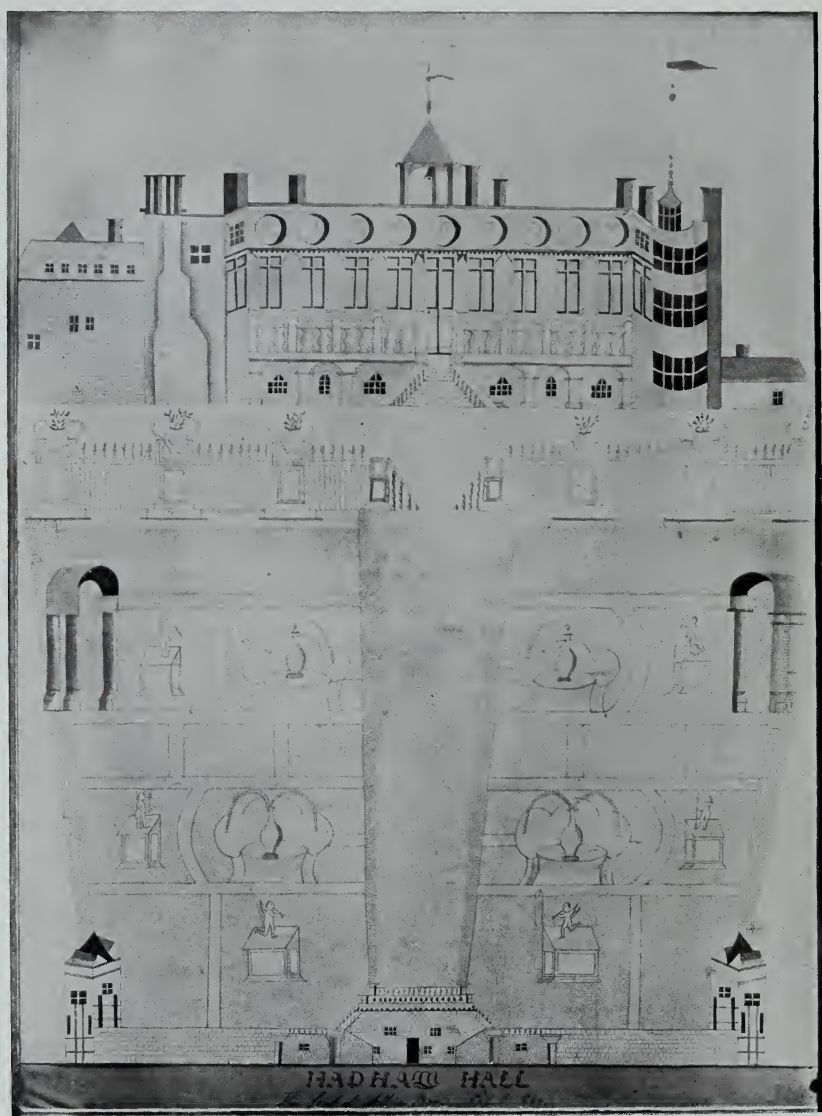
Of other contemporary sources of information the most useful have been three pictures. The first of these is an oil painting, now at Cassiobury.² Painted by a Dutch artist, Cornelius Janssen (born 1593) who worked in England as late as 1648, it is valuable for the portrait it gives of Arthur Capell, a portrait which has been reproduced in many different forms; for our purposes, however, the picture has a yet greater value, for the meticulous accuracy of the artist has led him to show every detail of the garden and terraces which form the background. One must imagine that this picture was executed just after the completion of the hall, garden, and terrace, and that Arthur Capell intended it to carry down to his descendants not only his own portrait, with those of his wife and children, but also the representation of the great works with which he had embellished the house which was at that time the seat of the family.

¹ The existing east and south sides of this moat are shewn on the plan of the manor.

² Frontispiece.



BANQUET HALL FROM THE EAST (Circa 1640)



BANQUET HALL AND GARDEN (Circa 1640)

It is possible to date the picture fairly accurately from what is known of Arthur Capell's family. His children were, at that time,

1. Elizabeth, born 1629, died 1630, who may be disregarded, as the picture was obviously painted after that date, seeing that Arthur only inherited the estate in 1632.
2. Mary, born 1630, standing on the right.
3. Arthur, born 1631, standing on the left.
4. Elizabeth, born 1633, next to Mary.
5. Henry, born 1637, at his father's knee.
6. Theodosia, born 1639, on her mother's lap.¹

If, as I suggest, the last five are the children represented in the picture, and their apparent and respective ages support the theory, and if, as we may fairly assume, the picture was painted before the beginning of the civil war of 1642, it may be safely said that its date is about 1640.

The second (ii.), also an oil painting, on wood, taken from the park, shows in the foreground the terrace which closed in the garden at its east end; the garden is not seen, but beyond is the main front of the banquet hall, with the buildings adjacent to it on either side.

The third (iii.), a faithful copy of an original picture dated 1648, is said to have been made in 1841 by a Miss Scott, who afterwards became Mrs. Stacey. Taken from the same point of view as the second, it represents its subject partly in elevation, and partly in bird's eye view. This impossible combination of system has landed the artist in difficulties which he has not succeeded in overcoming; especially will it be noticed that where, between the hall and the garden, he changes from his first to his second system he has been forced to leave a curious hiatus. It would seem as though he began to record his impressions standing at the iron railings which divided the garden from the path running immediately below the banquet hall, which latter he gives in elevation (notice the similarity of these railings in i. and iii.); adding to his picture as he slowly retreated backwards, the garden is given practically in plan, though the lines are so drawn as to suggest perspective; finally he moves further backwards into the park, whence he shows the terrace in elevation, with, apparently, an attempt to picture what he could not have seen from that point, the double flight of stairs which lay on the further side of the terrace. Both the latter pictures are now at Hadham Hall.

Of these three pictures the first is a work of art by a well-known artist; the other two are more curious than artistic. The similar

¹ *Little Hadham Registers*. Privately printed, 1907.

and impossible plan of perspective adopted in both of them, coupled with the identity of detail found in each, make it practically certain that they must be from the same hand. The third being dated 1648, the same date should naturally be assumed for the second; but the political troubles of that year—Arthur Capell was defending Colchester in 1648 and lost his life in the following year—rather suggest as a more probable date for both the year 1640, the year to which I am inclined to assign them. The one which is dated is admittedly a copy, and I think it very likely that the date was mis-copied.

Considered together, the value of these pictures lies in the wonderful way in which they support each other in every particular; and their agreement is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the first is taken from a point of view exactly opposite to that of the two others. Moreover, they are all three noteworthy for what we may call their topographical accuracy. From a Dutch artist one expects this, and it is strong evidence of this quality in the first picture that the other two, however inartistically, confirm what Janssen shews; and, lastly, all that they portray has been confirmed in every respect by what excavations have revealed. Two other, later, pictures I have found; one a slight sketch by Luppino of 1819, now in the library of the Hertfordshire County Museum at St. Albans; the other a drawing by G. Buckler, of 1834, in my possession, but neither of these throw any additional light on the building.

DATES OF THE BUILDINGS.

The buildings which yet survive, or of which foundations have been found, can be attributed to six principal dates. These it will be well to set out here, seeing that they will frequently be referred to in what follows.

(1.) The house built, as would seem probable, by Thomas Baud *circa* 1440, and mentioned in his will of 1449.¹ This must have been an important structure, and had, we know from the will, a chapel; but only portions of the foundations now survive; indeed it seems likely that of the main part of this building no trace has been found, for the foundations which have been discovered must be those of the offices. The earlier, eastern, portion of the Gatehouse, to be spoken of later, must also belong to this date, and has the same orientation.

¹ Dated September 22nd, proved November 24th, 1449. *P.C.C.*, 18 Rous.



BAUD HOUSE - FOUNDATIONS OF THE EAST WALL

(2.) The house built *circa* 1572 by Henry Capell, a considerable part of which yet remains as the Hadham Hall of to-day; the orientation of this house varies considerably, for what reason one cannot imagine, from that of the earlier Baud house.

(3.) The banquet hall, gardens and terrace, added about 1634 by Arthur Capell.

(4.) The alterations made when the Capells left Hadham for Cassiobury, in 1668. It was at this time that most of the building which then existed was pulled down, what was left being adapted for the purposes of a farm-house. The west wing, and part of the southern, were alone left standing; a portion of the latter indeed was only taken down as late as 1848.

(5.) The south wing and the south end of the west wing were again much altered, mainly internally, about 1720. The chief structural changes of this date being the addition of the projecting semi-circular staircase, the blocking up of certain windows, and the substitution of sash for mullioned windows on the first floor of the south wing.

(6.) The alterations and additions carried out between 1901 and 1902 by myself, when the house ceased to be a farm-house and once more became a residence.

It will be understood that the dates given above (except in the last case) are only approximate, being based on no written evidence. It was necessary to distinguish the various epochs in the history of the house, and these dates have been fixed after a full consideration of all the factors in each case.

THE HOUSE BUILT BY THE BAUDS.

What remains of this house lies to the south-east of the later house of 1572, and will be easily distinguished on the plan by its differing orientation, which points slightly more to the south. The foundations, however, tell us very little, nor is it altogether easy to disentangle them from the later walls, which are much mixed up with them. Of the outer walls portions only of the north and south survive, with the whole of the east wall, the two former being broken away at their western ends; the western side of the block is all broken away in a manner which proves that it must have extended westwards. At the north-east angle was a projecting chimney buttress, and on this same face another small square projection. The enclosure formed by these walls is irregular, as the north and south walls diverge westwards. On the south and west sides of the enclosure are party walls which must mark the

position of small rooms, but the spaces enclosed by these are curiously irregular; they are well seen on the general plan, as also in the illustrations which show them from the west (v.), and from the east (vi.). The foundation of the wall which formed the eastern face is shewn in iv., and of its elevation a good idea can be formed from two of the pictures referred to above (ii., iii.). These prove that the building which stood on these foundations was incorporated into the later building of 1572, and further connected with the yet later banquet hall of 1634. Both these pictures agree in shewing a plain brick structure having four windows irregularly placed in the wall, and six dormer windows in the roof. The massive chimney buttress at the north-east angle is also well seen. The character of this elevation supports the theory that this portion of the Baud house cannot have formed the main building, which must have stood elsewhere.

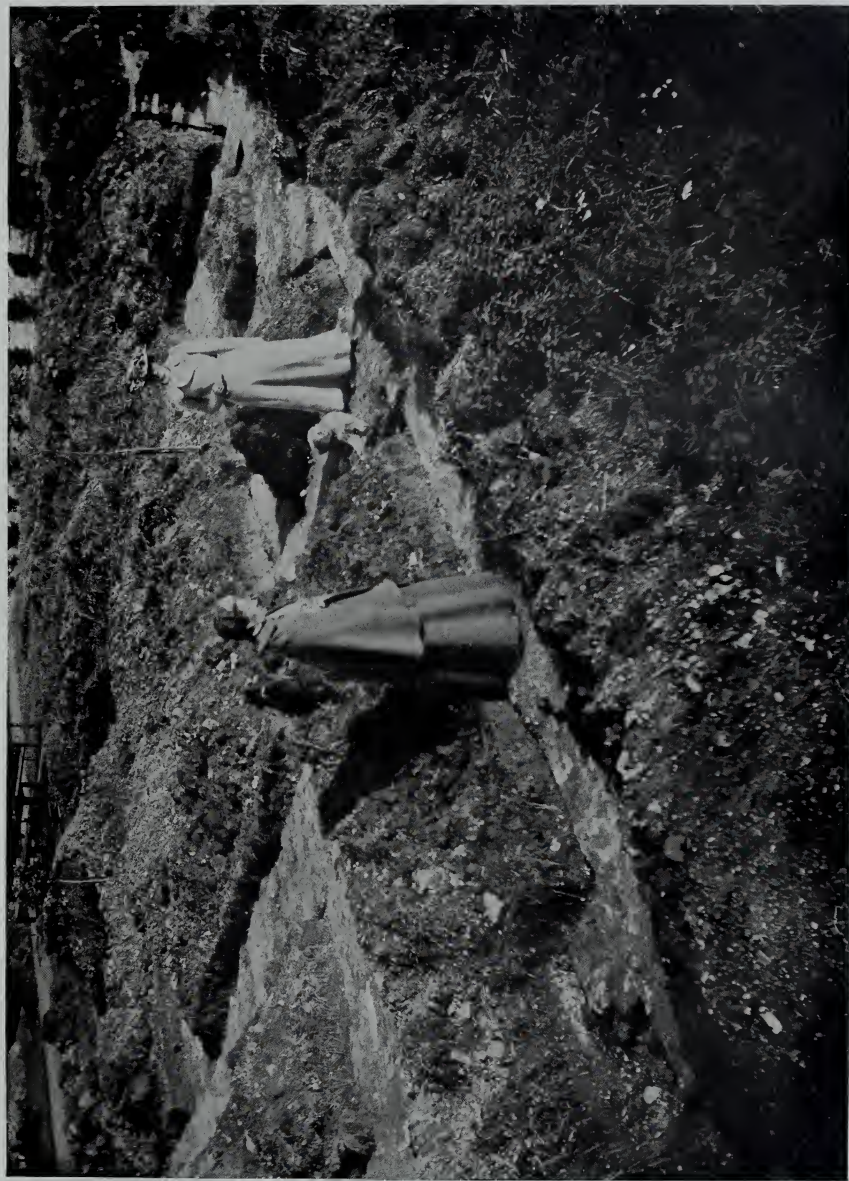
Behind these foundations, at a distance of 50 feet westwards, and having the same orientation, is a circular brick oven, the floor formed of tiles set on edge, and quite perfect; outside this is a small room, 6 feet square, and again, beyond this, the remains of a larger room. It would seem that the oven, with its adjacent rooms, stood in a kitchen court, that the foundations before described formed the offices, and that the main portion of the house stood yet more to the westwards. If this were the case the fact that none of the building has been found would be accounted for by the erection of the later house of 1572, which covers its site. Two further facts support this theory, the main north wall of the Baud foundations is broken away at its western end, obviously because it interfered with the cross wing of the newer house, inside which it now lies (see plan); secondly, a portion of the Gatehouse, which lies considerably more to the west, is of the same date as the earlier house, agrees with it in orientation, and probably formed a part of its encircling curtilage.¹

One small portion of the enclosing curtilage wall of this earlier house can yet be seen above ground, where it remains as the foundation of a part of what became the curtilage wall of the 1572 house; it now forms part of the wall enclosing the garden. How this only surviving fragment was utilized by Henry Capell in his later work will be explained when we come to speak of this garden.

THE HOUSE BUILT BY HENRY CAPELL.

The main plan of the 1572 house, as I propose to call it, is not an unusual one, though modified to some extent by the incorporation

¹ See *infra*, p. 78, where the Gatehouse is more fully described.



BAUD HOUSE FOUNDATIONS - FROM THE WEST



BAUD HOUSE FOUNDATIONS - FROM THE EAST

of a portion of the earlier mansion. It consisted of a western block, from the two ends of which projected eastwards a northern and a southern wing, the two latter being connected in the centre by a cross wing, double the width of the others. The court thus formed was paved with brick. The northern wing, except that it set in 17 feet, ran straight, and ended in a bay window, carried up to the roof, where it finished in a turret (ii., iii.). The complete parallelism of the southern wing was interfered with by the fact that the plan incorporated a portion of the older house. This incorporation would have been easy had it not been that, for some reason we cannot now understand, the newer house was given an orientation which differs $6^{\circ} 20'$ from that of the earlier. The southern wing, therefore, after running parallel with the northern for 106 feet, joins the cross wing, from which, at an oblique angle, it is continued eastward in a long gallery which served to connect what was left standing of the earlier house with the later one. The foundations at the point at which this oblique gallery joined the cross wing are all well preserved, but their meaning is very obscure; indeed, the whole of this portion of the building, seeing that we have only the foundations to guide us, offers a series of puzzles which are more easily stated than solved.

Chief among these puzzles stands the north wall of this oblique gallery. This consists of two walls, each 2 feet 6 inches wide, running side by side, but in no way bonded or connected. Of these, the northernmost is clearly the outer north wall of the Baud house, and runs east to where it returns to form the projecting chimney buttress seen in ii. and iii. Inside it, the later wall of 1572 starting from the cross wing, makes a clearly defined angle where it strikes the older wall, an angle which is echoed in the south wall of the gallery. From this angle it continues east and alongside the older wall for 88 feet, and then returns south to form something which must have been built inside the earlier house. The foundations at this point are, however, so much broken away that it is quite impossible even to guess at their meaning. Was the older wall left standing when the newer one was built inside it, or was it taken down? If it was destroyed it would seem that the last 23 feet must have remained, seeing that the newer wall does not extend as far east as the older; but, were this the case, there would have been an awkward break. The wall coming in at the point, where this break would have been, is of later date, and was built as part of the passage to connect the banquet hall of 1634 with the older house; its straight joint proves it later.

Against the south wall of this gallery is a deep cess-pit, vaulted over, from which runs a drain connecting with the main drain, to be spoken of later; this cess-pit is much mixed up with Baud foundations; and, though the point is far from clear, I am inclined to attribute it to the earlier work. Had it not been there in 1572, when this oblique gallery was built, the gallery would probably have been made wider than it is, to correspond with the widths found in the other parts of the house.

THE COURT.

The court was entered by two archways, one passing through the western, and one through the southern wing of the house. The western arch enters between two projecting turrets, and now forms the front door of the house (vii.). The southern arch passed through that portion of the south wing which was destroyed in 1848. Massive as is the vault of the cellar where this archway passes over it, it gave under the traffic, and has been strengthened by a large square buttress built in the cellar, immediately under the archway. Half of this archway, the southern, was left standing, together with the whole of the south wall of the old wing (ix.), to enclose the garden on that side, and the arch now forms the entrance to the garden from the lawn. When we come to speak of the garden we shall find that another, similar, arch stood some distance to the south, where there are traces of what may have been a porter's lodge.

In the north-west corner of the court is a well, which, up to 1902, formed the only water supply. No other well has been found, so that it may be that it served for the 1572 house. The water was far too impure for use, so the pump was removed in 1902, and a brick well head built from old materials.

THE NORTH WING.

Of the north wing of the 1572 house but little can be said, as none of it now remains above ground. Its length is broken by an inset into two main divisions, respectively 82 feet and 112 feet, to which must be added the projection of the bay window at the east end. A thickening in the wall near the north-east angle would seem to have been a fireplace, the chimney shaft of which appears in both ii. and iii., and there was probably a corresponding one at the other end of what must have been a long gallery. The foundations of the western end of this wing are well shown in xiv., lying behind the modern wall, which is just beginning to rise.



HADHAM HALL - FROM THE WEST



HADHAM HALL - FROM THE EAST

They were uncovered when the present billiard room was built, and it will be noticed that they are partly built on piles. Underground water is still a great difficulty here, owing to the clay soil, and the builders of 1572 had to deal with it. Here they had recourse to piles, whereas at the other end of the west block they preferred arches, still visible on the outside. Indeed at the west end the water trouble was so serious that a channel, running through the cellar under the south wing, and connecting with the main drain was provided: this remains in use to the present day.

THE WEST WING.

The western wing yet stands (vii.), and here, as a consequence, much more can be known of the original design. Its front is broken by two semi-octagonal turrets which run up to crenelated parapets and flank the main entrance. On either side of these turrets, both on the first and second floors, were two mullioned windows.¹ Over these, at the roof spring, now runs a straight parapet, but the brick work shews clearly that the first plan included gables which broke the parapet between the two upper windows on each side, thus matching the gable which still rises over the main entrance. My attention was first called to this by the photograph from which vii. is reproduced; careful examination of this will show the springing of the old gables, and the present straight parapet cutting off their points. Between the centre gable and the top of the door are two mullioned windows, super-imposed, making ten in all on this façade, without counting the nine small windows in each turret. All these windows have gable heads, which, like the transoms and mullions throughout, are of moulded brick, covered with cement. The timber work of the roof, inside, proves further that there must have been a lantern rising above the roof, over the centre gable. There were fireplaces on the ground and first floors of this block at each end, four in all: of these three remain in use, and the four chimney shafts rise above the roof, in pairs, at each end of the block, the western shaft of each pair being ornamented with diaper work in moulded brick. The front doorway must have had a pilaster on each side under the projecting capitals which still remain. Nichols,² writing in 1823, says 'some remains of the mansion house at Hadham are yet to be seen, and one of the fluted pillars serves as a font in Little Hadham church.'

¹ The door, to the right of the main entrance seen in vii., is a later addition, and has now again been replaced by a window. See *infra*, p. 75.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 222, note.

This is no longer true to-day as regards the font; but the fluted pillar exists, having been set up in the churchyard, at the west end of the church. It seems more than likely that this fluted pillar formed part of one of these pilasters.

The east front of this wing had, originally, thirteen mullioned windows (viii. shows one half of this front): nine of them opposite the corresponding windows of the western façade, while four took the place of the turrets which do not exist on this side. Of these thirteen two have been destroyed to make way for the semi-circular projection which contains the modern staircase, while two more have been considerably cut into by the small building fitted in at the junction of this and the southern wing, portions of these are, however, left. Between the first and second windows on each side of the centre door were small doors, now bricked up. These afford a clue to what the original arrangement of this wing must have been, for if the rafters inside are examined, they will be found to be so arranged that two of them lie on each side of these entrances, which, it is evident, must have given access to 'lodgings,' arranged as the rooms round a college quadrangle still are, the staircase of each set of rooms rising to the floor above, between the two rafters arranged to carry it. When the house became a farm the whole of the ground floor internal arrangements were swept away, as will be seen when we come to speak of the alterations then made.

THE SOUTH WING.

Of the southern wing 48 feet remain standing: the northern face has been much altered, retaining only one mullioned window, on the first floor, bricked up it would seem about 1720, when this part of the house was much modernized (viii.). The mouldings of the inner, western, window on the same floor, which became useless when the building was placed in the angle, were found during the alterations of 1902 under the plaster of what is now a passage. On the ground floor there is no trace of any similar mullioned windows ever having existed. On the west front of this wing a mullioned window (on the first floor) has also been bricked up, though it still remains visible on the outside. The roof ended westwards in a stepped gable: but, at some time, the north side of this gable has been filled in, so that its point is now continued in a straight line to join the main roof ridge of the west block. This wing looked out south on to the court which contained the bake-house, and was, probably, as the house was originally planned, given up to offices. On the south side (ix.) the eight



HADHAM HALL - FROM THE SOUTH



PLAN.

SECTION A.B.



SCALE OF FEET.

original windows of the ground floor are all circular headed; four of these remain in the inhabited portion, and four more can be seen in the continuing wall which was left standing to form the north wall of the garden when this part of the wing was pulled down in 1848.¹ A massive, square, chimney buttress, carrying two shafts, projects from this face on the west side of the archway. Its plain character supports the theory that we are here dealing with what must have been the offices; indeed we know that in farm-house days the ground floor of this wing was used for the brewery, when this chimney served for the large brewing copper. The brewery has now become a drawing-room and the chimney serves for its hearth.²

An archway passed through this wing, as through the west wing, and the south side of it remains standing, forming the entrance to the garden (ix.). John Betts, then tenant of the farm, pulled down the eastern end of this wing, said to have been two rooms and a staircase, in 1848, placing his initials on a stone let into the present east wall which he must have built, but whether these rooms and staircase extended over the whole of what was then destroyed cannot now be known, though it seems probable. It is, however, quite certain that the whole of the south wall of the wing yet remains standing, and on the ground floor still shews its original windows, the first of which is seen in ix., with its two fillings.

THE CELLARS.

The south wing has under it cellars which are remarkable, and will only be understood by reference to the separate plan, which again must be compared with the general plan of the whole building. They extended under the whole of the south and under a portion of the cross wing; 80 feet of them are still accessible, the remaining 20 feet have been filled in. Of the 80 feet, half lies under that portion of the south wing which still stands, and half under what is now lawn. A later cross wall divides these two portions, and both are vaulted with a massive slightly pointed, barrel vault. This cellar was lit by a basement window, which remains, at its western end, and by four more on its southern side. These latter are all visible on the outside, though only one of them is now pierced.

¹ These latter four windows have been twice bricked up; once partly, leaving smaller square windows; finally, these square openings have themselves been filled in.

² The second shaft was perhaps connected with a room above; if so it became useless after the alterations of 1720, and has clearly been unused since then.

Under a portion of the cross wing, and connected with the larger cellar is another, smaller, cellar having two basement windows, one in the free portion of its south wall, and one looking west into the court. The details of this latter window are given in x. where its cill is seen lying in the west wall of the cellar of which the inner splay is well shown. Part of the chamfered brick course which formed the lower member of the window framing is seen still *in situ*. This cellar must also have been vaulted, but with a cross vault, as when excavated in 1911 the spring of the arch at the angle was clearly seen; it is now again entirely filled in with the brick rubbish found in it. Opening out from the north side of this cellar is a curious square recess, 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 9 inches, still paved with well-laid bricks, and forming a small platform or shelf, as its floor is some 18 inches higher than that of the main cellar into which it opens. This recess is seen in xi., though a complication is introduced by a later addition. It will be noticed in the illustration that, up to about one half of its height, the recess is cut off from the cellar of which it formed a part by a dividing wall; this wall, much broken down at the top, as though it had once extended higher, is roughly built and was clearly made later, to shut off the recess as it would seem. In the angles where this recess joins the cellar are two side rabbets, one of which is shown in xi.; in these, no doubt, was fixed a wood framing to carry a door which shut off the recess from the cellar. What the use of this recess may have been it is difficult to say; it cannot have been to give light, seeing that it opens into the building above it; it is too small to have contained a staircase, or even it would seem, a ladder; and, seemingly, too small to have been used for lowering casks.

The only entrance to this cellar must have been from the larger cellar under the south wing, although, unfortunately, it was impossible to establish this as a certainty, owing to trees: in its eastern wall was a small recess, no doubt to hold a light.

Of the centre wing nothing now remains but the foundations and the cellar just described extending under one corner of it.

ADDITIONS MADE BY ARTHUR CAPELL IN 1634.

We now come to the very considerable additions made to the house by Arthur Capell. In 1627 he married Elizabeth Morrison, heiress of Cassiobury, whose fortune, no doubt, helped much in carrying out his plans, when in 1632 he succeeded to his grandfather as lord of Hadham. His additions to the estate, as well as his



WINDOW IN THE CELLAR



RECESS IN THE CELLAR

enlargement of the park we have already heard of, and his ideas, when applied to the house were equally magnificent. The mansion must have been a stately one when he inherited it, but he at once began to enlarge it by building a banquet hall, and by laying out a garden adorned with pavilions, fountains, statues, and a terrace, as the fashion of the time was. The date of this work must have been about 1634.

THE BANQUET HALL.

To deal with the banquet hall first: this he placed between the antennae of the existing north and south wings, but though 71 feet in length, it did not actually extend as far as either of these, but stood isolated. A long corridor was built to connect it with the centre block. This hall, as the plan shows, does not centre with the archway passing through the west wing: a fact which would not, however, be noticed so long as the centre wing was standing, moreover it was evidently designed to centre on to the new terrace towards which it faced. A passage way was also made to join it with the north wing, without which, connection between the two buildings would have involved a long and roundabout journey. At the south end another passage connected it with the old Baud building which had been left standing in 1572, still apparently used as a kitchen.

The general slope of the site on which the 1572 house is built is eastwards, the fall from the western block to the level of the park, a distance of 550 feet, being some 13 feet; of this about 5 feet 3 inches occurs exactly where the banquet hall stood, and is now marked by the two flights of steps, fifteen in all, which form the modern terrace. The banquet hall was so placed that the back of it stood on the upper part of this slope, that is on a level with the buildings behind it. The front of the building had therefore to be supported on an arcaded basement; this is well shown in iii., running under the balcony, which, projecting in front of the banquet hall, was itself carried on arches. What the back elevation was like one cannot say, but of the front ii. and iii. give us a good idea. Along the whole of the front, on the main floor level, ran the balcony on to which the centre window opened, so as to give access by a staircase to the garden below;¹ on each side of this were four more windows, making nine in all. The front wall was carried up to form a deep parapet, inset with nine circular medallions,

¹ It is this window through which we look in Janssen's picture on to the garden beyond.

perhaps in terra-cotta.¹ From the centre of the roof rose a lantern, in which hung a bell; so, at least, the artist of ii. and iii. seems to prove. But his ideas of perspective were so curious, and his desire to put in all he knew was there, so great, that it is quite possible the lantern he shows over the hall may have been the one we know to have stood over the west wing.

THE GARDEN.

Below the balcony lay the garden, of the formal type prevalent at that date. This was approached from the balcony by a flight of steps, broken by a landing as appears in the Janssen picture, which I follow where possible, though the landing is not shown in ii. or iii. The general arrangement of the garden is well seen in the painting by Janssen which is confirmed in the main by the more curious picture iii.; the first shews it as it appeared when seen through the window of the banquet hall, the second as viewed from the terrace below.² Of the details shewn in these pictures many have been verified by excavation, while the dry summer of 1911 brought to light the exact lines of the paths, as well as the positions of the four fountains.

The garden was enclosed on the north and south sides by brick walls, from the centre of each of which projected a pavilion or summer house. The picture (i.) shews the fronts of these, flush with the walls, but the foundations, when excavated, prove that in this particular the artist was wrong, for they stood out in front of the walls, forming arches over the side paths which thus passed under them; this disposition is confirmed by iii. Two main walks, 18 feet wide, possibly edged with low brick walls, intersected each other at right angles, and in each of the four divisions thus formed stood a fountain and a statue, while narrower paths swept round the fountains, connecting the sections of the main walks. Partly from Janssen, and partly from what has been found on the spot, the arrangement of the garden has been reconstituted on the plan of the house.

¹ My only authority for saying that they were medallions are the two old pictures (ii., iii.) which certainly give that impression. If they were, they would be remarkable as the only instance of such a decoration in England outside Hampton Court, where the medallions are of a much earlier date, and of Italian origin. It has been suggested that they were possibly niches holding busts, a not uncommon form of ornament.

² It will be noticed that in Janssen's picture there are four statues, whereas iii. shews six. The arrangement of the paths is also different in iii, but I attribute the variation mainly to want of skill on the part of the artist, the general idea is the same.



FOUNDATIONS OF THE TERRACE STAIRCASE

THE TERRACE.

The centre walk led straight from the banquet hall down to the terrace, which formed a great feature in the scheme. This terrace, closing in the garden at its lower end, must have been of a monumental character, and the foundations discovered in 1910 confirm the evidence of the pictures in every respect. The centre path of the garden led up to four brick piers 11 feet apart: between the two centre piers lay what can only be described as a sunken landing, into which three steps led; this descent was necessary in order to get head room for the passage which ran under the terrace. On the further side of this sunken landing was a door which opened into the passage leading out into the park which stretched beyond. On each side of this passage were two rooms about 16 feet square, formed under the terrace, the floor of which they supported: the windows of the two eastern rooms looked out over the park, the western ones back towards the garden.

The two other spaces between the brick piers led to brick landings, on the garden level; from these, on each side, stairways led up right and left to half-landings, whence they returned to the top of the terrace. The foundations of these stairs appear in xii. The centre portion of the terrace thus projected 25 feet backwards into the garden, and its total width here was 53 feet, whereas between this centre projection and each end the width was only 28 feet; these side extensions were supported by strong retaining walls. At each end of the terrace stood a pavilion. All this is well seen in Janssen and in ii. and iii., while excavations have fully confirmed it. The east wall of the terrace yet remains, though the centre part of it, which helped to form the rooms under the terrace, was destroyed when the terrace was pulled down, and rebuilt much thinner than the old wall. This can be well seen on the east face of the existing wall, where the junctions are plainly visible. The original portions of this wall also show the returns which formed the northern and southern walls of the rooms. The rooms themselves are still there, and were found, when excavated, to be filled up with brick rubbish. The eastern door of the passage was entirely destroyed, together with the wall in which it stood, but the west door remains. Its cill, of stone, and brick jambs recessed to take the door frame, are well shown in xiii. The passage was paved with stone flags. Some of these must have been removed when the destruction took place and used to form the paving outside the present front door of the house: others, found still *in situ* in 1910, were then taken up and added to this paving, thus

increasing it by two more rows. The difference between the width of the terrace in the centre and at the sides was occupied by a path, lower than the terrace, but slightly higher than the garden. These paths were held up by a dwarf supporting wall, at the extreme ends of which two or three steps led down to the lower garden level.

On the completion of these additions the house must have been a very large one, and some idea of its importance may be gathered from a return of all the fire-hearths in the parish made in 1663.¹ In this, the Earl of Essex is entered as responsible for fifty-two fires, the next highest number in the parish being nine.

ALTERATIONS MADE IN 1668.

The next epoch in the history of the house must have been in 1668. Arthur Capell's great additions had hardly been completed when the civil war broke out in which he lost his life. His son Arthur, created first Earl of Essex in 1661, recovered the property, which had been sequestered under the Commonwealth, in 1649, immediately after his father's execution. Employed in the service of the Crown both at home and in Ireland, where he was Viceroy, he must, when at home, have resided at Hadham as late as 1668, the date of the last Capell entry in the Little Hadham registers. In 1669 occurs the first entry in the Watford registers, and the inference is that between those years the family seat was transferred from Hadham to Cassiobury. An interesting confirmation of this supposition is found in a work by Moses Cook 'gardiner to the Earl of Essex at Cashioberry,'² where the author speaks of carrying plants 'into a little room which I had at Hadham Hall, it joined upon the bake-house' which, as we know, stood where is now the walled garden. 'March approaching in the year 1666' he proceeds with his operations, and 'at the latter end of August I took the pot of earth and set it in a south window in a Banqueting house.' Moses Cook must have been gardener first at Hadham and later at Cassiobury, and was evidently at Hadham as late as August, 1666.

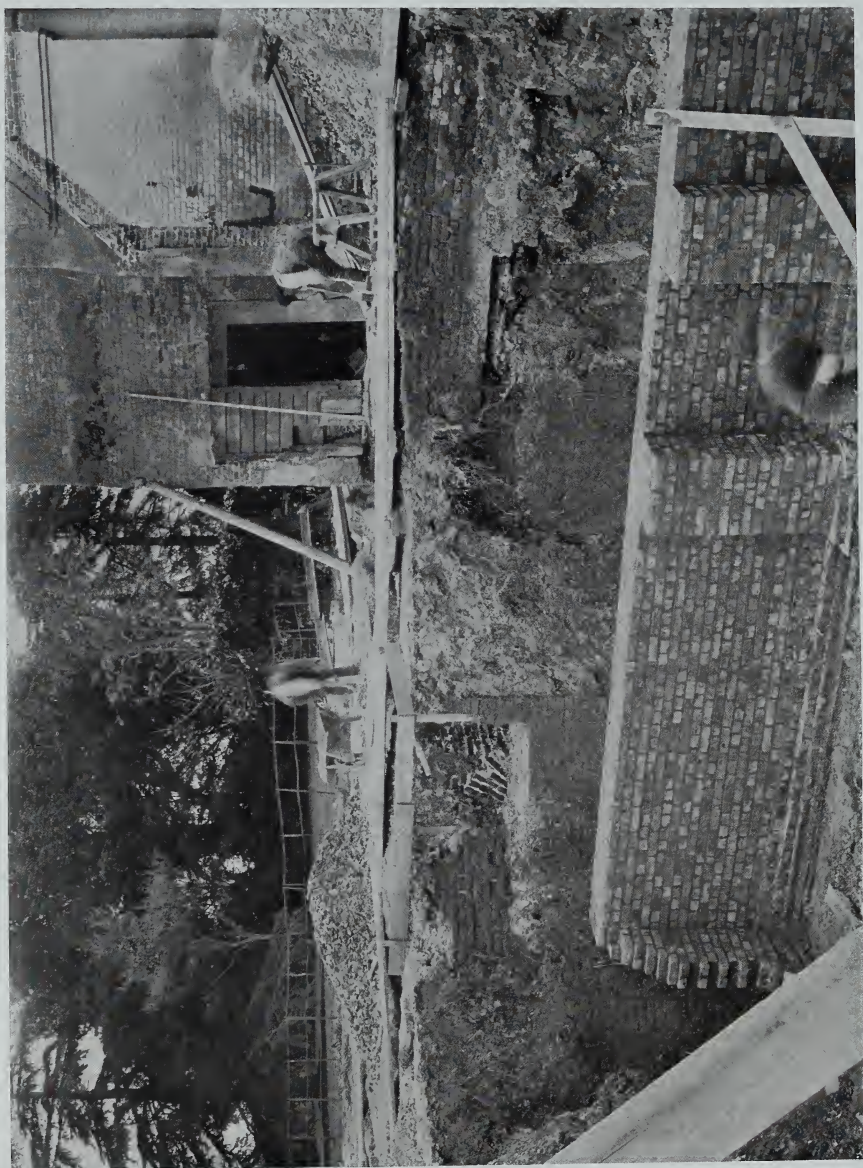
What reason determined the change we do not know. Hadham was given up for good, the park was turned into farm land, the mansion, and Hadham old park lodge and Wickham Hall, becoming three farm houses, as they remained until 1900, and as the two latter still are. It was obvious that the mansion was much too large for a farm house: and, as one assumes, to save the cost of

¹ *Lay Subsidies*. Additional 248/23. This return is interesting as giving the names of 53 persons who paid the tax in that year. Many of the names still survive.

The manner of raising . . . Forest Trees. 2nd ed., London; 1717.



DOOR WAY UNDER THE TERRACE



FOUNDATIONS OF THE NORTH WING

repairs, the greater part of it was pulled down, the west and south wings alone being left, a portion of the latter, as we have seen, being only demolished in 1848. Great changes were made to adapt what was left to its new purpose, especially in the west wing. The ground floor space here was cut up into living rooms, how exactly one cannot say, as further considerable alterations were made later, about 1720. The main structural alteration was the building of two large fireplaces, one on each side of the main entrance, the flues for these being carried up through the roof, where they may be seen cutting the original timbers. The northern of these served for the kitchen, the southern for the living room; the first is seen in vii., coming through the roof close to the northern turret, the second in viii., it is obvious that both are later additions. Next to the kitchen fireplace, at right angles to it, placed in a wall thrown across the turret, was built a baking oven, large enough for farm-house purposes, and, doubtless, meant to take the place of the old bake-house then destroyed to make place for the new farm-house garden. The small door which had given access to the northern set of chambers was utilized as a back door, opening into the kitchen; this kitchen, with a dairy which adjoined it on the north, has been used to form the present dining room, which has been further increased by throwing back the stud partition which now divides it from the pantry. The beam at this point was found to be so weak that the buttress which forms the recess was built in 1902 to support it. In the south-east angle of the kitchen was a narrow winding staircase, which must have opened at sometime on to the gallery above, but this had been disused and closed long before 1900. It has now been removed, but the floor of the gallery still shows where it debouched. Immediately north of the dairy was another narrow straight staircase which opened directly into the room above it, this was still used as the back staircase of the farm house in 1900; a partition across the ground floor, beyond this staircase, completely shut off a room which occupied the north end of the wing. This room, now the pantry, was used as a farm office, being entered only from the outside through a door pierced in the north wall of the west wing.¹ The other side of the central entrance was arranged as living rooms, but their disposition has been twice changed, in 1720 and again in 1902.

The first floor of this wing must also have been to some extent altered in 1668, though its main feature, a gallery 6 feet 9 inches wide, running the whole length of the wing, together with the oak

¹ Seen in xiv.

stud partition forming it, are, no doubt, of 1572 date. On the massive beams which form the inner side of this gallery may yet be seen the carpenter's framing marks. A portion of this partition was shifted in 1902 to open the gallery into the entrance hall below, and was used to form the third room from the south, which did not then exist, for at that point there was a wide passage leading from the gallery to the south turret, in which was a winding staircase going up to the attics. This staircase, dating from 1572, was removed in 1902 when the present bedroom was formed. The stud partition forming the gallery had been canvassed and papered, but in 1902 the original work was revealed as it now is.

The two southern rooms on this floor are panelled in oak, though it is obvious that the panelling was not made for its present position: it dates from 1634 and was probably brought from the hall, or from some other room of the house destroyed in 1668, to be utilized here.

On the ground floor of this wing the only room left unchanged in 1902 was the southern one: here also the panelling, of deal, painted, was not made for the room. The same may be said of the overmantel which is of oak, of 1634 design: round a portion of the room some oak carving of the same date has been used as a cornice as far as it would go. The fireplace of this room is original, but had been built up to hold a modern steel grate. Behind this, when it was removed in 1902, was found an iron fire-back showing the arms of the Vintner's Company; this has been left *in situ*. It seems probable that all the alterations in this room were carried out in 1668. Of what was done to the interior at this date one cannot now say much more than this.

The garden and terrace were entirely destroyed, and only a small lawn left on the east front of the west wing, extending 110 feet: beyond this all was thrown into field, as far as the old eastern wall of the terrace which now bounds the lower lawn.

THE WALLED GARDEN OF 1668.

A new walled-in garden, which still exists, was made for the farm-house on the south side of the south wing. What remained of the south wing and of the curtilage wall sufficed to enclose rather more than half of this new garden: new walls, built with the old materials, completed the enclosure. The result was a square, the walls of which are worth careful study. Time has made them appear at first sight as all of the same date, but close examination shows that they are of three different epochs. The east wall, for 77 feet from its south-east angle is, for 1 foot 9 inches of its height,

of the earliest date, 1440, when it must have formed part of the wall enclosing the kitchen court of the Baud house. In 1572, Henry Capell, wishing to enclose a much larger area than the Baud curtilage had included, utilized this wall as far as it fitted in with his plan and built on the top of it a new one: the deflection of the south end of the old wall shows why only its eight lower courses could be made use of, for it had evidently fallen over very much. The condition of the south end of this early wall, broken away as it is, proves that in Baud days it must have extended further in this direction. The whole of the south wall is of 1572 date, and in this was an archway, corresponding to the arch in the south wing, but, curiously, not immediately opposite to it, the variation being 7 feet 6 inches. This archway had been filled in, and an iron gate was inserted in the filling in 1903. The top of the arch has gone, but the moulded brick jambs are still visible. There are traces at this point which seem to indicate the existence of a porter's lodge built on the outside, east of the arch, with an entrance from it into the enclosure behind. The north wall is formed mainly (106 feet) of the wall of the south wing of the 1572 house, but the last 26 feet were built up from old material in 1668; and the whole of the west wall is of this same date. Outside the south wall, and running south-east at an angle of 77° is a wall which extends 37 feet 6 inches, evidently built later than the south wall, and, it would seem, never finished: why it was built at this angle, or what purpose it was meant to serve, remains a mystery: the materials are all old, the coping of 1572 date. Perhaps, also in 1668, the building in the inner angle of the south and west wings was erected (viii.) though this is doubtful, as it may well have been part of the later alterations of 1720. The first floor of the south wing, in its present condition, is entirely of that date and will be spoken of later.

ALTERATIONS MADE IN 1720.

The south end of the west wing, as well as the first floor of the south wing, underwent great changes about 1720, a date based, in the absence of any definite evidence, on the character of the work which still remains. This suggests the theory that the Lord Essex of that date (the third earl, William, who died in 1742), wishing to visit the older home of the family at times, had this end of the house arranged as a separate dwelling for his fit entertainment.

A new entrance door (shown in vii., taken before the alterations of 1902) replaced the second window from the south end of the west wing and led into a new entrance hall panelled in wood.

This door was removed and the old window replaced in 1902. The door is shown in the rough sketch by Luppino, of 1819, but the drawing by G. Buckler, of 1834, curiously enough, does not show it, but gives a window instead. One must assume that the latter artist thought the door spoilt the symmetry of the façade, as indeed it did, and preferred to show the front as he rightly imagined it must have been. Opposite this door two mullioned windows, one above the other, were taken out on the east side, and a projecting semi-circular turret put in their place, in which was built the staircase which now forms the main staircase of the house (viii.). It would appear that some miscalculation was made in designing this staircase, and that when fitted it was found not to reach to the level of the gallery above. To meet this difficulty the expedient of lowering the last 29 feet 8 inches of the gallery by 7 inches was adopted. To do this the joists at this end had to be cut, with the result that the whole gallery as well as the floors of the two rooms opening out of it at this point was weakened, even though the cut ends of the joists were supported from below by wood posts. These posts gradually gave under the stress, allowing the floor to drop some 4 inches, and in 1902 their condition was found to be so serious that a brick supporting wall was built to take their place and so prevent further subsidence. The cill of the gallery stud partition, as well as its centre beam shew by their curvature at this point exactly what happened. At the step formed in the gallery when the southern end of it was lowered, a partition door was fixed, thus shutting off this end of the first floor, which was approached from below by its separate staircase, and having its own private entrance hall and front door. The two rooms of the west wing thus shut off are the oak panelled rooms referred to above.

The first floor of the south wing contains two further rooms the division between which is also of this date.¹ In this division wall were placed two fireplaces, one for each room. In order to carry these, and the chimney stack rising above them, a brick pier was built up from the ground, passing through the cellar, and through what was then the brewery, now the drawing room; this chimney stack appears in viii. and ix., cutting through the roof very awkwardly. The three south windows of these rooms, originally mullioned as in the rest of the house, were taken out, and replaced by five sash windows (ix.), the brickwork outside shews exactly in its straight joints the position of the old windows, the inner mouldings of which still exists behind the framing of the more modern sash

¹ A crown piece of 1663 was found behind the woodwork of one of the windows in one of these rooms in 1902 when all the frames and sashes were renewed in teak.

windows. The walls of these rooms were covered with elaborate panelling, including dado and cornice, the woodwork of the fireplace in the smaller room being specially noticeable, all of this remains untouched. This panelling conceals the two mullioned windows at the north and west ends of this block, both of which remain visible on the outside. Another mullioned window existed, near the angle, on the north side: this was done away with when the building in the angle, which now gives access to the eastermost of the two rooms was put up (viii.). Portions of the outside mouldings of this window still exist, under the plaster, in what is now the wall of the short passage, the rest of it occupied the position now filled by a door opening into the larger room. At the east end of this room the panelling shows two doorways, now blocked; these must have led through to the portion of the south wing which was taken down in 1848.

The entrance hall, leading from the new front door to the staircase of what practically became a separate house, was panelled to match the work put into the rooms above. This panelling was removed in 1902, revealing on the south side the original stud partition dividing off the south room on the ground floor. The partition on the north side of this entrance hall, which shut off the main living room of the farm house, and which was panelled in like fashion, was also taken down at this date to form the present hall. This hall is, therefore, made up of the 1720 entrance hall, the farm-house living room, a small room which had been formed in the turret,¹ and a passage which passed between these two latter rooms to connect the 1720 entrance hall with the main entrance hall. This passage passed through the arch now filled with a bookcase. Underneath the circular staircase a small door led out into the garden, thus making the dwellers in this part of the house completely independent. This door was replaced by a small oval window in 1902 (viii.).

THE BARNS.

There are two barns which may be distinguished as the Great barn and the Gatehouse barn; and the first question which arises in connection with them is, what is their date?

They stand at right angles to each other, and both must have formed part of the curtilage enclosure of 1572, but a glance at the plan reveals the important fact that their orientation does not follow

¹ The floor of this room had been raised some 18 inches, no doubt to bring it up to the window level. A fireplace had been built in it, connecting with the main flue. The lower part of the flue has been removed, while the upper part is now utilized for a fireplace built in the new room on the floor above.

that of the house of that date, but agrees almost exactly with that of the earlier house of 1440. Moreover, a portion of the Gatehouse barn, as will be shown presently, is undoubtedly of 1440 date. Now it seems difficult to believe that the builder of the 1572 house would have planned his barns otherwise than to accord with the orientation he was adopting for his house, whereas, if we assume that the barns were built before 1572, to afford additional farming facilities, nothing would be more natural than for their builder, adding as we shall see he did to an already existing barn, and building a new one, to fall in with the orientation he found. He would, unconsciously adopt such a plan.

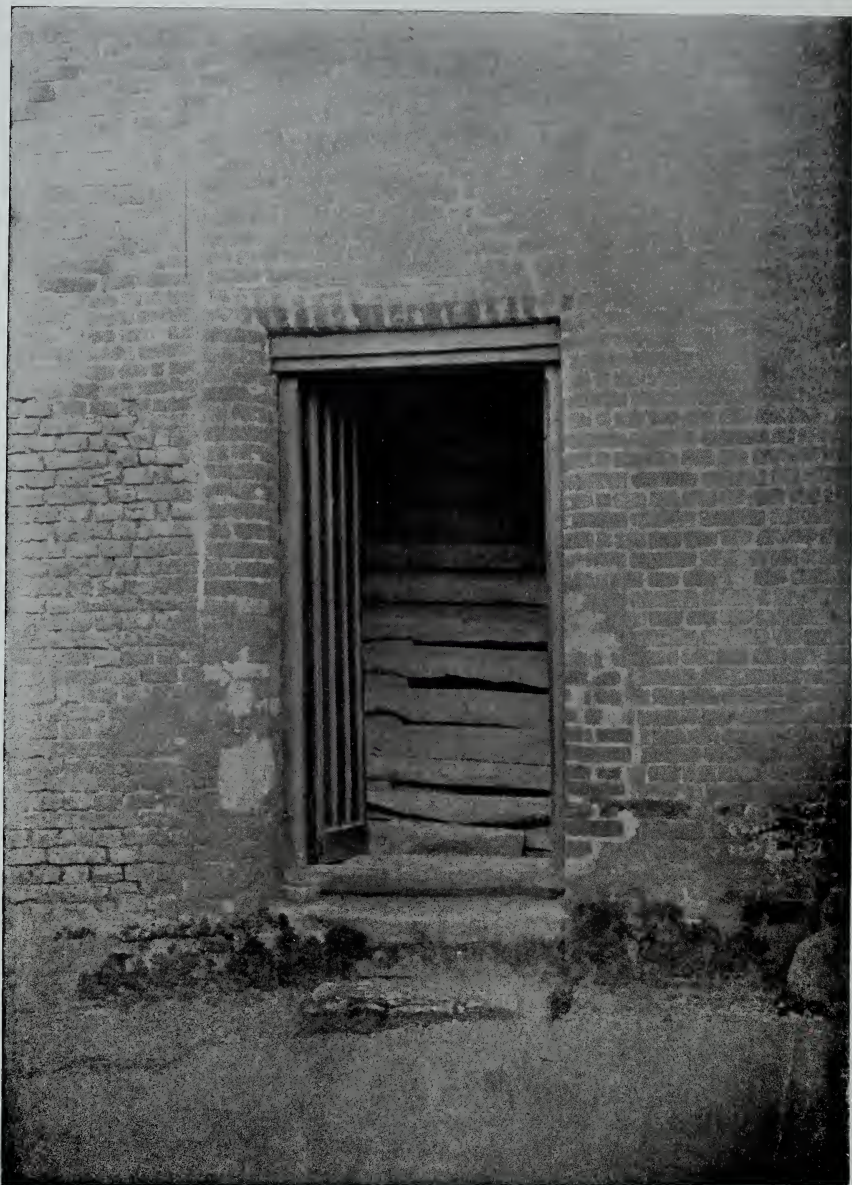
The inference would therefore seem conclusive that the more modern portion of the Gatehouse, and the whole of the Great barn were built before 1572. William Capell bought the manor in 1505 and, though he never lived here, it is to him or to his son Gyles that one is inclined to attribute these barns, built, if the attribution be correct, sometime between 1505 and 1556.

The Great barn, to deal with this first, had, originally, two entrances on its east side—a wide centre door, and a small door immediately adjoining it on the north. Both these were bricked up many years since, but their arches are plainly visible. Probably for convenience of access to the two ends, seeing the great length of the barn—101 feet 6 inches—square openings were made in it near the two ends. One of these is shown in xv., the other had then just been filled up: these square openings had the effect of weakening the main eastern wall to such an extent that it was thought wise to strengthen the whole building in 1902 by the addition of buttresses all round the building. The roof was also in a very bad state, the western side of it tiled, the eastern thatched; the timber work of this was largely renewed, and the whole tiled. The square opening at the south end was bricked up at the same time, a small door being left in the filling, giving access to what is now the battery room. It being found necessary to place the new water tanks as high as possible, so as to ensure a service of water to the house, three brick piers were built inside the barn to carry them. This was done in order to avoid placing any weight on the weakened main walls. The well, 275 deep, was bored, and the well house, with the adjoining water softening house, were built at the same time.

The Gatehouse barn offers a far more difficult problem. First, it is clearly of three different dates. In total length 121 feet, the earliest portion is the eastern: from this end, for a distance of 45 feet 6 inches, the wall, up to a varying height of about 8 feet



THE GREAT BARN



DOOR IN THE GATE HOUSE BARN

3 inches on the north and south faces, is older than the remainder of the brickwork. At the doorway (xvi.) on the north side which opens on to the stairs leading to the top floor, the north wall of the older building returns, and now shuts off the staircase and a small room lying behind it between itself and the later archway. In this return wall, which formed the end of the older building, is a narrow original window, 3 feet 6 inches by 6 inches, deeply splayed on the inside, and now opening on to the staircase. This building, later heightened and extended westwards, is of the Baud date, *viz.*, 1440, when it must have formed the finish of the Baud mansion in this direction, the main house lying between it and the foundations described above (page 61). The junction of the Capell addition with this older barn, whenever made, was very badly done: on the north side there is no attempt at bonding, the joint is a straight one, and is well shown in xvi. where it is seen on the left of the stairway door, the closer-bricks which mark the end of the older wall being clearly visible. The junction on the south face is no better and shows just as clearly the closer-bricks. The whole of the south-east angle of this older building must at some time have fallen down, and been entirely rebuilt, when a clumsy attempt was made to straighten the south side, which had evidently fallen outwards. Even then the building was not safe, cross tie-rods, and the existence of cracks cemented up prove it. The very dry summer of 1911, acting on the clay soil on which the foundations rest, again tried it, and four more tie-rods, two running across, and two lengthwise from the arch piers, were put in, while defective portions of the wall at the north-east angle were rebuilt in cement. Should this not succeed in steadying the building, the foundations will have to be underpinned.

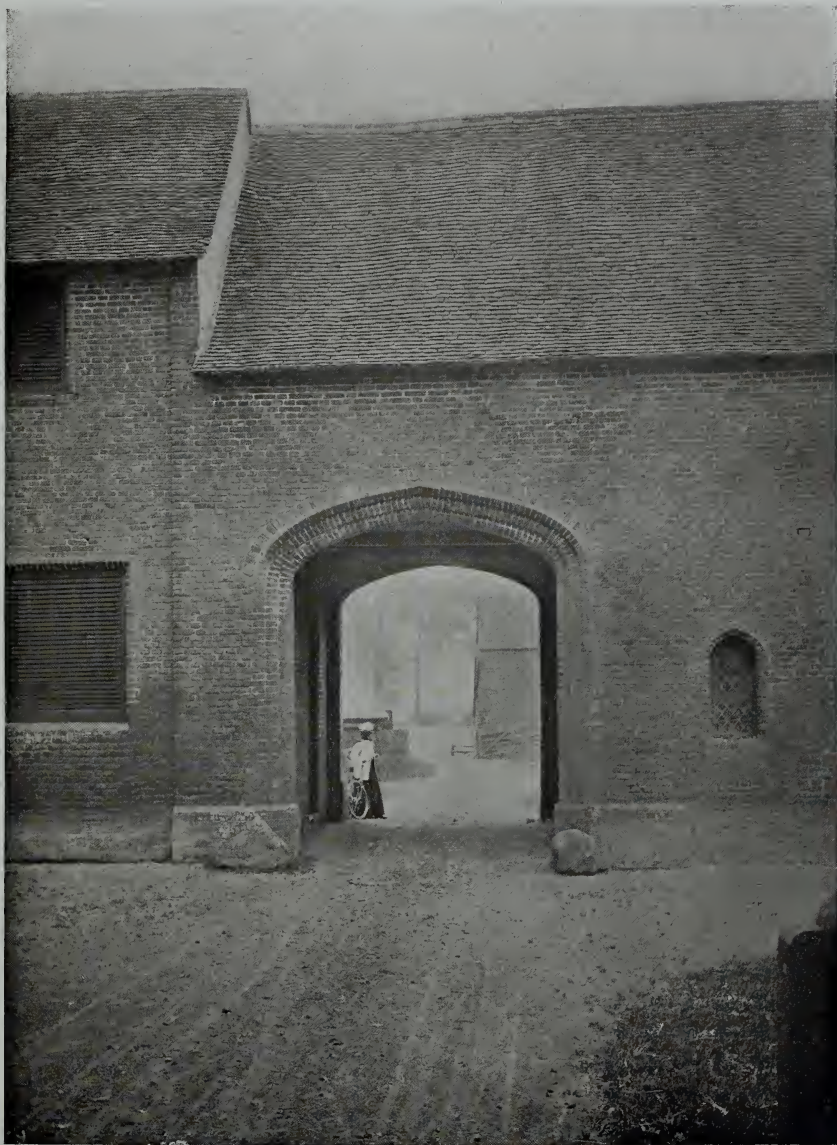
When this first barn was incorporated into a much larger one by some early Capell, he must either have raised it in height, or rebuilt the upper part, for the windows in the upper portion accord with those in the addition, and do not match the one remaining old window which now opens on to the stairs. He further carried it westwards 75 feet 6 inches by building immediately against its west end. First a staircase was made (xvi.,) and beyond that an archway passing right through the new building (xvii.). Judging from the appearance, though there is no definite evidence on the point, it seems likely that the building was continued up over the archway to form a gatehouse; the break in the roof at the point where the barn narrows (xvii.), is best accounted for on this theory. This would have afforded lodgings for farm hands; and that it was so occupied is clear from the existence of a garderobe at the

north-west corner of the archway, as well as from traces of a window, still visible on the south side, which must have been used to light the gatehouse. The garderobe consists of a shaft running down to the ground from the room over the archway, concealed behind a buttress, and left open below by means of a small supporting arch at the bottom of the shaft wall. The provision of this arrangement, as well as the buttress built out for its partial concealment, account for the remainder of the building westwards being 9 feet less in width than the rest. Had this not been done, the garderobe shaft would have formed an awkward projection on the north face of the barn. Near the north-east angle of the barn is a small doorway, bricked up long ago. This doorway, very roughly made, is certainly later than the wall in which it is placed, but the arch forming its head is Tudor; it was probably put in when the barn was added to. It is a fact worth noting that on the south side of this barn a diamond pattern is worked in black bricks. These diamonds are larger in the newer part of the work than in the older. The north and end walls are plain red brick, except for one small diamond in the centre of the north wall of the old portion.

CURTILAGE WALLS.

A curtilage wall enclosing the whole of the premises was a necessary part of a group of buildings such as is here described. The remains of a probable Baud curtilage wall, utilized later for the same purpose by Henry Capell as part of his larger scheme, and now incorporated into the garden wall, has been already referred to. Of the Baud curtilage wall nothing more is known beyond this fragment, but of the wall of 1572 the greater portion still exists, largely above ground, partly in foundations only: I propose to follow this through, beginning at the Gatehouse, which, with the Great barn, formed a part of it.

From the south-west angle of the Gatehouse barn the foundations of the wall remain and run due west for 50 feet. Here the roadway and a brick stable (taken down in 1902) have caused all traces to disappear, but the wall returned and continued, no doubt, up to the Great barn. On the north side of this barn it must have run on, returning east to the fish stew. Immediately beyond this, still going east, it survives above ground, and runs uninterruptedly for a distance of 590 feet, forming the north wall of the present kitchen garden. In this length is a small arched door, now blocked, noticeable for its splayed buttresses. At the north-east corner the wall returns and runs south 195 feet, until it reaches the terrace of 1634.



ARCHWAY THROUGH THE GATE HOUSE

The last 20 feet of this stretch are later than the main wall, and date apparently with the terrace, and in this last 20 feet is a door, now blocked, which opened out on to the park. It is clear that this wall of 1572, which is found again on the further side of the terrace, was removed at this point to make way for the latter, which took its place, though advancing its line forwards some 26 feet. On the further side of the terrace it exists only in foundations, all of which have been explored. These start from the south end of the terrace, and continue south for 18 feet, then return west; and, at the return, pass obliquely over a drain to be spoken of later. They continue for 360 feet in this direction until they end at the south-east angle of that portion of the Baud house which, as we have seen, was kept standing in 1572. This stretch of the curtilage wall runs alongside of, but not quite parallel to, the southern wall of the later garden of 1634.

From the angle where the wall joins the Baud house the latter itself continued the enclosure westwards to the (now) east garden wall: here the old Baud enclosing-wall, capped by the later addition of 1572, again served, returning south for 77 feet. Thence westwards the Capell wall, now the south wall of the garden, continued for 132 feet. From the point where this ends, up to the Gatehouse from which we started, a distance in a straight line of 239 feet, all trace of it is lost, nor is it possible to say what direction it took.

There was, in 1902, in front of the west wing of the house, a forecourt, enclosed by a low wall, and having an entrance between the two piers which still face the front door. The south and part of the west wall of this forecourt, up to the point where the latter joins the Gatehouse barn, are still standing. The wall forming this forecourt was never a part of the curtilage, but seems to date from 1668. It is built of old materials, but these were plentiful when the great destruction of that date took place. The bricks coming from the portion of it taken down in 1902, have again been removed, to form the walls of the terrace which now divides the lower from the upper lawn.

DRAINS.

In carrying out the excavations two drains were found, both remarkable for the solid way in which they were built. Both run east following the fall of the ground, and one, the older, certainly starts from the house, the other has only been picked up in two places, enough to determine its direction: it may have come from the house, but, very probably, it only served to take the water from

the four fountains which stood in the garden of 1634. Where they leave the curtilage enclosure on the east both these old drains run down through what are now called Mead and Lower Path fields, but which then formed part of the park, a distance of 323 yards, to the ditch running at the bottom of the valley and it seems likely from their direction that they joined, the later one running into the earlier. Constantly, in ploughing these fields, bricks are turned up on the line which the drains must have taken.

I propose to trace the course of the larger drain first, beginning from its eastern extremity where it leaves the curtilage at a point 20 feet from the south end of the still standing terrace wall: at this point the 1572 curtilage wall is built on it, crossing it at a slight angle. This is due to the fact that, for the first 103 feet, the drain runs a little north of west. It then inclines westwards and runs straight up to the Baud house, passing a little south of the lower (modern) terrace wall. From where it passes the terrace wall its inclination is again slightly north, which carries it directly under the square projection on the east façade of the 1440 house. It continues in this direction up to a point 62 feet east of the east wall of the square garden. Here again the drain was opened, the total distance from the curtilage wall up to this point being 341 feet. The three openings made in this length show its internal dimensions to be 2 feet 6 inches on the flat bottom and 2 feet 8 inches in height up to the crown of the semi-circular top: it was found dry and clean, and could be explored from end to end.

The western end of this 341 feet length lies under the foundations of the Baud house, and from this point it again continues westwards another 119 feet, but, though of the same shape, is of smaller and inferior construction; only 2 feet high and 2 feet wide. Though it has not been opened beyond this point it was quite possible for its course to be followed by knocking on the roof as one crawled along, the sound being plainly heard above. The junction between the wide and the narrow drain is very clumsily made, the difference in size being met by a rough pier, built in the drain, which narrows it down at that point to less than 2 feet and makes an awkward shoulder, which must greatly have impeded the flow.

Starting from the junction the course is somewhat more to the north, the junction itself making an angle. At 58 feet from the junction a branch comes in from the north, connecting with the large cesspit spoken of above: this branch is of the same internal dimensions, and 22 feet 6 inches long. At 82 feet from the junction it widens out into a small chamber roofed with stone, in which it is just possible to stand upright. Unfortunately, on account of trees,

it was not possible to get at this point from above, for one would have wished to explore this chamber further, and so discover its meaning, possibly it was a cesspit. At 94 feet from the junction another branch drain comes in, also from the north, seemingly from the cross wing of the 1572 house. The main drain follows on up to the south-east angle of the cellar which lies under the south wing of the 1572 house, and at this point it was possible to communicate from inside the drain with a person in the cellar. The total length from the junction is thus 119 feet, making 460 feet in all from the curtilage wall.

It has hardly been possible to explore this second drain at all, its dimensions being too small. It is 1 foot 8 inches high and wide, shaped like the larger one, and solidly built in brick. It has been found at two spots, first at a point 125 feet west of the wall which bounded the terrace on the east, from which point it has been followed some 90 feet westwards; and, again, under the door leading from the garden under the terrace (see page 71). Seeing that it runs under the modern lawn it was not possible to reach it anywhere else. Judging from the little that has been found of it, it runs west to east in a slightly oblique direction under the lawn of to-day, the garden of 1634. It passes out below the old terrace, under the present wicket gate in the end wall. Later in date than the drain first described as it must be, it probably turns to join this in the field below, although this can only be a surmise. If it continues west in the direction ascertained, it would strike the house at a point which makes it unlikely that it was a house drain; the better theory would be that it took the water from the four fountains in the garden; but, if this was its only object, it seems curious that it did not run absolutely straight down the centre of the garden. Moreover, these fountains themselves are a puzzle, one wonders whence they obtained the water which required a drain of this calibre to carry it away. However this may be I have no hesitation in dating the smaller drain as of either 1572 or 1634; and if, as I think, it was only intended to serve the fountains, it must be of the latter date. As regards the drain first described, I am confident that it is of 1440, and served the Baud house. It runs under the foundations of that house where these still exist, and continues on in the direction which must have taken it under the main part of that house which lay to the westward of those foundations, and it connects with a cesspit which is apparently 1440 work. It is inconceivable that the builder of the 1572 house should have carried a new drain under the massive walls of the older house which he left in part standing, such a task would be a risky one

even to-day. Henry Capell, no doubt, made use of the drain he found for his new house, which indeed he planned so that the old kitchen department and offices should continue to use the old cesspit. What is difficult to see is why the drain should suddenly narrow, and why the junction of the wider and narrower portions should be, though solid, so clumsily contrived. House drainage in those days was not nearly so important a matter as it has since become, and I am inclined to account for the size of this drain by suggesting that it was also meant to deal with underground water; with heavy rains there is still a strong stream running through a channel cut for that purpose through the cellars under the south wing, which finds its way into this old drain, so that it continues to serve one useful purpose.

THE VINEYARD.

Country houses of any pretension at that date grew grapes out of doors, for the purpose of making wine. Hadham was no exception, but the arrangement of the vineyard here was, so far as I can ascertain, unique. The space allotted to it was the oblong which lay to the north-east of the north wing of the house. This was enclosed on the north and east sides by the still standing curtilage walls. On the west a wall ran at right angles from the north wing of the house to join what must have been a very considerable building, which, with the wall, helped to enclose the vineyard on that side. Portions of this building still remain; adapted long since to serve as a cottage, and used as such down to 1900, it has now become a tool house. What its original extent or use may have been it is impossible to say, but the remaining chimney stack, which follows the architecture of 1572, shews it a building of considerable importance, a conclusion strengthened by the discovery of a large brick drain running from it northwards, at a slight angle, up to the curtilage wall under which it passes, to be found again in the field which lies beyond. The ultimate destination of this drain cannot now be traced, but it inclines towards the small plantation known as New Spring. It seems likely that between the northern end of this building and the curtilage wall, that is along the line of the drain, the vinery was left unenclosed, for no trace of any wall exists here, but this opening lay well within the curtilage, which would afford sufficient protection.

On the south a wall extended the whole length of the enclosure in the position shewn on the plan; this, we must assume, was kept considerably lower than the north and east curtilage walls, so as to

allow the sun's rays to strike directly on the vines which grew behind it.

The enclosure thus formed was 346 feet long and 192 feet wide, and lay so that its longer axis, from west to east, was fully exposed to the sun. Even thus, in a climate such as ours, grapes would be an uncertain crop; but here the ingenuity of the man who planted this vinery came to add yet further protection to the plants. Parallel with the longer axis of the enclosure, and within it, were built six walls, not straight, as anyone could have devised, but zig-zag fashion, thus forming in each of the six walls eleven recessed bays, making sixty-six in all. Each of these V shaped bays lay open to the south, and the vine planted at the apex, spread its branches right and left along the faces of the bay, from each of which, moreover, would be reverberated a considerable amount of heat. Any cold winds which might blow would first be diverted by the main enclosing walls, and any wind from west or east which passed these outer guards would blow, comparatively harmless and broken up, between the vine walls, in the bays of which the vines themselves lay ensconced.

All the foundations of these walls were found, but, unfortunately no more than the foundations, so that it is impossible to say how high they were. We may guess them to have been from four to five feet, which would be ample for a vine; and standing as they did 27 feet 6 inches apart, no wall would have prevented the sun reaching to its neighbour behind it. The northern face of the walls might well have been used for growing other fruits, such as plums or cherries, while the spaces between them remained available for the usual kitchen-garden crops.

I have searched through many gardening books of the time in the hope of finding this ingenious plan recommended; but, though these all contemplate a vinery as a proper adjunct to a country house, they advise that the plants be grown either espalier fashion or arched over, each to the next; growing vines on walls does not seem to have occurred to them, still less the further refinement of growing them in bayed recesses. Something similar may perhaps be found in some of the many plans of houses and grounds of that date which adorn our various county histories; for example, the pictures of Lees Court and of Tutsham Hall given in Harris' *History of Kent*¹ both shew what appears to be an enclosure, having within it in each instance five parallel walls, but these walls are straight. Something is evidently growing on them, but whether

¹ London, 1719.

vines, or some other form of wall fruit one cannot say; nor, from these plans, can the orientation be made out, though one assumes that it was south.

Serpentine walls are found here and there, especially in east Anglia, but these appear to owe their origin rather to certain advantages of construction, nor can I find that they were ever used for vines. Even if they were, the protection offered by the slight curve of their shallow bays could never have equalled that afforded by the V shaped recess; nor, so far as I can ascertain, is any instance recorded of several parallel serpentine walls.

THE ALTERATIONS OF 1902.

Hadham Hall having, in 1668, become a farm-house, remained such until the sale of the estate in 1900. The Gatehouse and Great barns already existed in 1668; and, though now put to other uses, yet stand; but the farm was a large one, and required additional buildings. These, mostly of wood, were no doubt erected as occasion demanded; they are fully shewn on the Ordnance survey of 1898, and need only be briefly mentioned here.

Three large barns, of brick on wood foundations, ran eastwards from the north-east angle of the Great barn (one of them built on the edge of the round pond, where its foundations may still be seen), their line was continued by various cattle sheds; a fourth and similar barn stood in front of the Great barn, parallel with it. These various buildings enclosed a farm-yard, between which and the Gatehouse lay a small paddock. A large quadrangle was thus framed in by farm buildings, the east side of it occupied by the forecourt which lay immediately in front of the house. Against the north end of the house was built a small brick stable, while the Great barn was also extended northwards by a wood cart-shed, and southwards by a brick cart-horse stable. All these buildings were removed in 1902, except the two original barns and the south, and part of the west walls of the forecourt. To the north of the main line of the wood barns was built in the same year, on what was then the stack yard, a new stable block, which includes three cottages. This, with the Hall and the two old barns, perpetuates the quadrangle. The old avenue leading up from the high road, and passing through the archway of the Gatehouse, no longer leads to a farm, but has been brought round to form an approach to the front door. There was a small lodge at the high road entrance to the avenue, possibly of the eighteenth century, certainly not earlier; this was taken down and the present lodge erected on the site. The old house at Church

End became the farm-house, and to the north of it have been placed the modern farm buildings ; while, close by, in Church field, have been built six new farm cottages.

The changes wrought in the house itself have been dealt with in the preceding pages, and need not again be detailed here. The new north wing and the billiard room were begun in April, 1901, and completed in August, 1902. Living here after that date I was enabled to give to the old house the personal care needed to adapt it to its more modern purpose. The names of the architects of 1440 and of 1572 have not come down to us, it may be well to state here that no architect is responsible for what has been done 330 years later.

The words of an Elizabethan writer may well serve to conclude these pages ; 'A man shall ever see that when Ages grow to Civilitie and Elegancie Men come to Build Stately,' and of the truth of the saying, Hadham Hall in the early seventeenth century, with its stately buildings, its courts and terraces, its fair gardens and fountains, must have given abundant proof. Of all these glories, so many of them vanished, I have endeavoured with the help of pen, spade, tradition and research to perpetuate the memory. Much, no doubt, remains to reward the research of future generations : to them I leave the task of revising what I have written, and of making the story of the manor yet more complete.

APPENDIX I.

MANOR COURTS OF WHICH THE RECORDS REMAIN, WITH THEIR
DATES, AND THE NAMES OF THE LORDS OF THE MANOR AND OF
THE STEWARDS.

YEAR.	DATE OF THE COURT.	LORD OF THE MANOR.	STEWARD.
		Thomas Baud, 1483	
1492	Jan. 30th and June 29th		
1497	Easter and Trinity		
1499	Dec. 9th		
1500	Oct. 28th		
		William Capell, 1505	
1511	Aug. 10th		
1512	Michaelmas		
1513	Nov. 6th		
		Gyles, 1515	
1522	Aug. 22nd		
1523	April 23rd		
1525	June 22nd		
1528	Feast of St. Catherine and June 24th		
1529	Dec. 8th		
1530	Easter		
1536	April 28th and Tuesday after Michaelmas		
1538	Oct. 9th.		
1540	Michaelmas .		
1541	Easter and Michaelmas		
1542	Oct. 18th		
1543	March 30th		
1545	Friday in Easter week and Oct. 17th		
1546	Friday after Michaelmas		
1549	Epiphany and All Saints		
1553	Tuesday before Pentecost		
		Henry, 1558	
		Edward, 1559	

YEAR.	DATE OF THE COURT.	LORD OF THE MANOR.	STEWARD.
1563	July 14th	Henry, 1577	John Churchill Thomas Grims- ditch (by special warrant for this occasion only)
1577	Feb. 28th		
1580	Aug. 29th		
1582	June 15th		
		Arthur, 1588	
1589	May 26th		John Tyndall
1590	„ 2nd		„ „
1592	April 15th		„ „
1596	„ 30th		„ „
1600	July 26th		„ „
1602	Dec. 29th and March 24th		Leonard Simonds
1604	May 30th		„ „
1605	March 25th		„ „
1606	April 9th		„ „
1607	„ 15th		„ „
1608	„ 12th		„ „
1609	„ 19th		„ „
1610	„ 4th		„ „
1611	March 22nd		„ „
1612	„ 25th		„ „
1613	„ 29th		„ „
1614	April 13th		„ „
1615	March 29th and Sept. 2nd		„ „
1616	April 4th		„ „
1617	„ 11th		„ „
1618	March 31st		„ „
1619	„ 31st		„ „
1620	April 5th		„ „
1621	March 31st		Edward Hamond
1622	April 13th		„ „
1623	„ 19th		„ „
1624	„ 5th		„ „
1625	„ 23rd		„ „
1626	„ 15th		„ „
1627	„ 4th		„ „
1628	„ 18th		„ „
1629	„ 14th		„ „
1630	„ 9th		„ „
1631	„ 9th		„ „

YEAR.	DATE OF THE COURT.	LORD OF THE MANOR.	STEWARD.
1632	April 7th	Arthur, 1632	Edward Hamond
1633	„ 16th		„ „
1634	„ 12th		„ „
1635	„ 8th		„ „
1636	„ 15th		„ „
1637	„ 12th		„ „
1638	„ 6th		„ „
1639	„ 12th		„ „
1642	„ 4th		„ „
		Arthur, 1649	
1660	„ 13th		Nicholas Jekyll
1661	„ 10th		„ „
1666	„ 13th		Henry Chauncy
1670	„ 13th		„ „
1671	May 5th		„ „
1672	April 25th		„ „
1673	„ 11th		„ „
1674	„ 9th		„ „
1675	„ 17th		„ „
1676	„ 8th		„ „
1677	May 2nd	Algernon, 1683	„ „
1678	April 11th		„ „
1679	May 20th		„ „
1680	April 26th		„ „
1681	„ 14th		„ „
1682	„ 29th		„ „
1697	Jan. 17th	William, 1710	Michael Arnold
1702	April 9th		„ „
1706	March 26th		
1707	April 15th		
1713	Sept. 24th		Peter Walter
1718	May 8th		
1724	May 6th		
1726	June 8th		
1728	Dec. 19th		
1729	April 7th		Roger Coningesby
1737	Sept. 16th	William Ann, 1743	„ „
1738	April 7th		„ „
1743	„ 5th		

YEAR.	DATE OF THE COURT.	LORD OF THE MANOR.	STEWARD.
1744	Sept. 19th		
1748	" 14th		
1749	" 13th		
1753	Oct. 9th		Charles Delaet
1754	Jan. 21st		
1756	Oct. 11th		Thomas Whitfield
1757	" 17th		" "
1760	Sept. 24th		" "
1761	" 28th		" "
1762	" 13th		Richard Thurston
1764	Oct. 1st		
1768	Sept. 28th		
1769	" 20th		Thomas Nicholl
1771	Oct. 11th		
1775	Sept. 20th		
1782	June 28th		Philip Cowley (Deputy steward)
1786	May 26th		" "
1793	April 20th		Philip Cowley (Steward)
		George, 1799	
1802	Oct. 13th		Edward Boodle
1818	" 14th		
1820	" 16th		
1829	" 1st		John Boodle
1832	" 18th		" "
		Arthur Algernon, 1839	
1844	Oct. 23rd	George De Vere, 1892	

APPENDIX II.

PERAMBULATION OF THE PARISH BOUNDS.

THOUGH this does not pretend to be a history of the parish, I have thought it well to put on record the perambulation of the parish made in 1818, and repeated in 1833. Such documents are not common, and are invaluable as preserving for us the names of the fields which lie on the boundary of the parish with their then occupiers and owners. The parish of Little Hadham is bisected by two main roads, one running south to north from Much Hadham to Albury, the other east to west from Stortford to Standon; the latter road being the old Stane street. These roads cross at right angles in the hamlet of Hadham-on-Ash, often called Nash, and divide the parish into four unequal sections. The perambulation begins at the south, where the road from Much Hadham enters the parish, and circles the south-western section first, continuing on to deal with the other three in turn. The field names mostly survive, though some of the smaller fields are now merged in larger enclosures, where this has taken place the line would be difficult to follow, were it not for the tythe map of 1844, and the modern ordnance survey. The tythe map is, of course specially valuable, as its date is so little removed from that of the second perambulation of 1833. The directions given are, in places, not altogether clear, where this is the case I have added notes.

The perambulation of the parish of Little Hadham, took place on May 26th, 1818, and was repeated on April 29th, 1833, when certain notes were added by the then officer. These notes I have placed in brackets with the date 1833. Any variations in the fields or in their names, to be found in the tythe map of 1844, are similarly dealt with, and distinguished by the addition of that date. The unbracketed notes are those found in the perambulation of 1818.

NAMES OF THE FIELDS ON AND WITHIN THE BORDERS.

	OCCUPIERS.	OWNERS	NOTES.
Oyster end ¹	Wm. Chapman	Mrs. Devisme	South side, beginning from the road
Short Croft mead	"	"	
" field	"	"	
Great Western hills	"	"	
Brick Lambs	"	"	(Brick Clamps, 1844)
Caley wood	"	"	

¹ A curious name; I suggest the derivation *Osterium*, as being the entrance to the parish. Oyster room is found in old inventories as the name of the vestibule or entrance hall of a house.

NAMES OF THE FIELDS ON AND WITHIN THE BORDERS.	OCCUPIERS.	OWNERS.	NOTES.
Broom hill	Bennett		(Probably a variant of Bromley, the name of the adjacent manor)
Burley hills	"		(Barley hills, 1844)
Sun's mead	"		Turn right, west side
"	Matthews	Miss Scott, Hadham park	
Sun's field ¹	W. Chapman	Chapman	
Little Broom field	Chapman	Rackstraw	(Little field, 1844)
Great "	"	"	(Brown field, 1844)
Bridge mead	"	"	
" field	"	"	
Turnip ground	"	Chapman	
Harnley	C. Chapman	C. Chapman	(Hern Ley, 1844)
Hotley	"	"	
Buzzards	"	"	(Sand's field, 1844). Turn down the Standon road three-quarters of a mile: cross a field of Wyman's, gate opposite to Hull farm. Turn to left out of road
Part of Nash field, four acres ²	Wyman		
Brundon	J. Scott	Lord Essex	
High field	"	"	Turn round into north side into [Furneaux] Pelham road; turn to left, 100 yards down the road to right ³
Round Lord's Spring	"	"	(Spring stocked up and laid into Great Coney field, 1833)
Nash mead	"	"	(Upper Nash mead, 1844), (Slackfield, 1833) ⁴

¹ Sun's wood still exists; just to the west of it the boundary turns north to join the Little Hadham-Standon road, thus completing the south-west section.

² Clearly an error, for Nash field lies further down the road. These 4 acres were part of the land formerly known as Bysouth's (see p. 41). Originally 7 acres, and copyhold of our manor, Bysouths became divided into two portions. Three acres to the east became part of the adjacent Brundon field and is now freehold: 4 acres, being those spoken of above, were occupied in 1818 by Wyman, but, unfortunately we are not told who they then belonged to. It would seem that by 1818 they were already, by enfranchisement, severed from the manor.

³ Though this is obscurely put, knowledge of the ground shews what was meant. The boundary sweeps round the north side of High field down to the road, then follows this northwards for—the exact distance is—150 yards, when it turns eastwards. See the plan of the manor which shews the boundaries on the north-western and north-eastern sections of the parish.

⁴ The boundary follows the north-west corner of this field for a few yards. The earlier scribe had not noticed this and his omission is corrected by the later.

NAMES OF THE FIELDS ON AND WITHIN THE BORDERS.	OCCUPIERS.	OWNERS.	NOTES.
Grimmels	J. Scott	Lord Essex	Round to left into
Hoowaters	"	"	
Red Deer park	"	"	Cross the middle of both fields, divided by a bawk; about 14 acres in Little Hadham ¹
Broatch House field	E. Scott	"	Up the middle of the field; at the end turn right
" mead	"	"	Cross the mead by oak tree; three quarters up field turn to a gate (2 acres are in Little Hadham. Cross Albury Lawn to get in Thicket field, in- cluding about 7 acres in Little Had- ham from tree in Broatch House mead, 1833)
across			
Albury lawn	"	"	
into			
Thicket			To the right, up the hedge. At the corner the four parishes of Albury, Stortford, Farnham and Little Hadham join ² Turn to right, cross from Stortford post, east side, to corner of (Barn field, 1844) (Barn pasture, 1844)
Great Barn field	"	"	
Little ³ "	"	"	

¹ A path, no doubt the 'bawk,' still divides this field into two parts; the western, the old Woowaters, the eastern, the old Chylleshott. The name Red Deer park appears here for the first time, but survives to-day side by side with Woowaters (see p. 23). The Tythe map shews that 10 acres, 0 rood, 25 poles are in Little Hadham and not 14 acres.

² These directions may have been clear in 1818, but the present disposition of the fields makes it difficult to follow them, though all the names survive. Leaving Red Deer park the boundary now runs east through Broaches field (the modern form of the name), which has absorbed Broatch House mead: it then crosses Albury lawn, leaving portions of both the latter fields in Albury parish. The oak tree said to stand in Broatch House mead is plainly shewn in the 1844 map; as is the mead itself, which then still had a separate existence. The oak tree and gate have now both vanished. The 'corner' is the north-east corner of the Thicket, where two counties meet, as well as four parishes.

³ *i.e.* turn right, along the east side of the Thicket, which is followed for 185 yards. The line then cuts off the south-east corner of the Thicket, which it leaves to Stortford, and runs south through what are now known as Stortford and Barn fields, Loop piece and Barn pasture, down to the main road, thus completing the third, or north-eastern section of the parish.

NAMES OF THE FIELDS ON AND WITHIN THE BORDERS.	OCCUPIERS.	OWNERS.	NOTES.
Plantaines Spring or Sand's wood ¹	S. Scott	Lord Essex	Down the Stortford road, to left, into
Lay	Marshall	"	
Great Small Gains	"	"	Plantaines brook water boundary
Little "	"	"	(These two are now one field, in 1844 they were still two, but known as the Leys and Small Gains)
Scants wood	"	"	(East wood, 1844)
East mead ²	"	"	
Little Scant's wood field	"	"	
Stockings, upper	Mrs. Jones	Lord Salisbury	} part of Bury farm
" lower	"	"	
Long Leys	S. Scott	S. Scott	
Great ³ "	"	"	(Now called Further Reeding, 1833)
Further Porters	Mason	Mrs. Manisty	
Porters	Crabbe	Mr. Gordon	
Galley Leys	"	"	Turn round to south side of parish (these last two fields were still separate in 1844, but are now thrown to- gether)
Bushey Leys	"	"	
Great "	"	"	(Great Leys and Eleven acres are now one field)
Eleven Acres	"	"	
Six "	"	"	
Long mead	Mrs. Jones	Lord Salisbury	Round the end
Horse path	"	"	} Bury farm
Dane mead	"	"	
Lower Wempstead	"	"	Turn to left round Lever wood

¹ The line runs east along the road some 66 yards, and then strikes south, parallel to but not on, the water-course which forms the eastern boundary of this wood, now known as Little Plantains in contradistinction to Great Plantains which lies more to the east. The water-course would seem to be the natural boundary, but only becomes so at 391 yards south of the road, so that a narrow strip of Little Plantains is in Stortford parish. This wood is not the Plantynes often referred to in the text; it was never a part of our manor, but must have belonged to Att-house farm, a later Capell purchase, with which it was sold in 1900.

² Scant's wood is now known as East wood: East mead is still Little East mead. I cannot help thinking that there is a possible confusion between Scant's wood and Sands given as the alternative name for Plantain's spring above.

³ What must be Long Leys appears as Further Readings, and Great Leys as the Leys in 1844, from which it would seem that the note of 1833 above is placed against the wrong field. At the end of Further Porters we reach the road leading from Bury Green to Thorley Houses.

NAMES OF THE FIELDS ON AND WITHIN THE BORDERS.	OCCUPIERS.	OWNERS.	NOTES.
Middle Bush Wempstead	Mrs. Jones	Lord Salisbury	
Further Wempstead ¹	"	"	
Mancroft mead	Mrs. Mason	Mrs. Manisty	(The two Mancrofts had become Great Mancroft in 1844, and the four Priors formed one enclosure called Pryers)
" field	S. Scott	Edward Scott	
Prior's field 1	J. Chapman	Mrs. Devisme	
" 2	"	"	
" 3	"	"	
" 4	"	"	Turn to right at the bottom, turn to the left up to the road whence we set off
Prior's mead up	W. Chapman		
Mill mead ²			(Stoney mead, 1844)

Set off at half-past nine, stopped nearly two hours at Hadham park (*i.e.* Hadham Old Park Lodge farm), completed the round about four o'clock. (This refers to the earlier perambulation of 1818, and the officer who repeated it in 1833 is equally precise, he says): April 29th, 1833, set off as before, about ten o'clock, concluded at three o'clock.

¹ The three last fields now form two; in 1844 they were still separate, and known as Level, Bush, and Further Hempstead.

² Prior's mead lies just east of the Ash, which has to be crossed to reach Mill (or Stoney) mead. It seems curious that this should not be noticed.

APPENDIX III.

THE TERRIERS OF THE GLEBE.

Two terriers of the glebe, still preserved among the parish papers, have been referred to in the text, and it seems well that they should be put on permanent record here. The first is of 1637, the second of 1664.

HADHAM PARVA.

A Terrier of the Glebe land belonging unto the Rectory of Hadham Parva¹ in the county of Herts. and Dioces. of London, as followeth: *viz.*

Imprimis—the house and barn and stable with two closes of ground thereunto adjoyning called by the name of the Parsonage Croft; abutting east upon the ground of Mr. Arthur Capell Esqre and upon the way leading to Stortford Epī. south, and upon the lands late of John Bayford north, containinge by estimation fower acres, more or less.²

Item—one parcell of ground called or knowne by the name of Parsonage acre abutting upon the land of Thomas Allen south and east, and on the west on the land of John Sabine, containinge one acre more or less.

Item—one parcell of land called by the name of Parsonage Harpe abutting upon the lands of Mr. William Wright west and on the lands of John Sabine east, containinge by estimation one acre more or less.³

William Rogers, Minister,
Curate ibidem.

William Lovett, }
Thomas Allen, } Churchwardens

Ext' in visitacōe metropolitana dñi archiepī Cant. 28 Martii, 1637.

To this the following later note is added, referring to the two last items:—

Exchanged under Enclosure Act for, 1861-2, two acres in Taskfield Common on which the new National School is built, and other land let out in cottage garden allotments

F. Randolph, Rector, 1862.

¹ The phrase does not seem quite correct, for, down to 1875 when Hadham Parva was erected into an independent rectory, it depended on Much Hadham, and was served by a curate appointed by the rector of that parish; indeed the very document we are quoting is signed by the then minister here as curate. Hadham Parva always, however, had its own distinct churchwardens and parish registers.

² The actual acreage is, and must always have been, 5'938 acres.

³ Parsonage Acre can no longer be identified exactly, but the Harp still remains under the same name. Like the Rectory land its area is underestimated, for it contains 1'405 acre.

F. Randolph was rector of Much Hadham at that date. His note is far from clearly expressed; what he meant to say was that the school occupied part of the two acres, the rest being let in allotments.

The later terrier confirms the first, varying from it only as we should expect, in the names of the occupiers of the lands.

A True Terrier of the houses, lands and tenements belonging to the parsonage of Little Hadham in the County of Herts., made on [blank] day of [blank] in the yeare of our Lord 1664.

Imprimis—the parsonage house with the yards, barne and one house and also foure acres of land thereto adjoyning and belonging, be it more or less, now in the occupation of Thomas Paske gent. or his assigns. The South side lyeth agaynst the kinges highwaye which leadeth from Standon to Byshop Stortford, and the north side lyeth agt the customary land nowe of George Bayford. The east end thereof butteth upon the land of the Right Honorable Arthur, Earle of Essex; and the west end thereof abutteth upon a lane called Church lane.

Item—one acre of land called Parson's Harpe att the Nashe agt the king's highwaye aforesaid towards the south, and the land of William Wright towards the north, and the customary land of ffelix Calverd towards the east, nowe in the tenure and occupation of William ffeast.

Item—one other acre of land, more or less, called Parson's acre lying agt the land of John Smyth in the occupation of Elizabeth Allen agaynst the east, the land of ffelix Calverd in the occupation of William ffeast agt the west; one head abutteth upon a common field called Nashe ffeild agt the south; and the north head abutteth upon the land of the said Earle of Essex called Highe ffeild.

Item—the Church yard containing one acre more or less in the occupation of the said Thomas Paske.

Alsoe one house or tenement standing and being within the Church yard nowe alsoe in the tenure and occupation of the said Thomas Paske or his assigns.

As touching the proportion of tithes wee doe not knowe.

Robtus Pory, Rector Hadhamæ Magnæ
cum sacello Hadhamæ pvæ.

It would appear from this that Thomas Paske was the curate in 1664, but he nowhere appears in the registers as such; on the contrary we are there told that John Powell began to officiate as curate under Dr. Robert Pery, 19th October, 1662, and he is found still signing as such in 1666. Thomas Paske was undoubtedly living in the parsonage in 1663, for a return of all the fire-hearths for the parish for that year names him as being responsible for four, in respect of the parsonage. The name is found in the registers between 1678-1723, and in the former year a Thomas Paske is buried here, but we are not told that he was a minister.

This terrier is the only notice of any house standing in the churchyard: there is no trace of one now.

APPENDIX IV.

NOTES ON THE ELY MANOR.

In compiling the foregoing pages I have necessarily met with much which concerns the Ely manor; and, though I have not pretended to write the history of the parish of Little Hadham, it may serve a useful purpose to place on record here some of the facts I have found relating to its larger manor.

This was from the first held by the Bishops of Ely, as the County historians all tell us; and, as early as 1277, 'in the time of Bishop Hugh de Balsham' we have a very complete terrier of the lands it comprised, as well as of the names and services of the tenants.¹ The only portion of this worth quoting here is the statement relating to the demesne lands, since this gives us several names which yet survive, names we have often met with in the account of the Hadham Hall manor.

The demesne of this manor is thus separated or divided; to wit, in the Suthfeld (Southfield) 132½ acres; in the field called Clude (Clowd or Cloud) 14 acres, 1 rood; in the field called Wholmstede 63 acres, 1 rood; in the field called Limstede 70 acres; in the field called Halmstede (Hamstead, unless Wholmstede were this) 63 acres, 1 rood; in the field called Westfield (*idem.*) 21 acres; in the field called Stockynge (*idem.*) 42 acres.

This statement as to the demesne land is followed by a long list of tenants, their services, and of the lands they held; but here, unfortunately, no identification is possible, nor can one arrive at an exact idea of the extent of the manor; but taking into consideration the number of the tenants, as well as the area of the demesne, it is quite clear that it was very much larger than the Hadham Hall manor.

One cannot help noticing the similarity of the two names Wholmstede and Halmstede in the list of demesne lands; and the absolute identity of their acreage, together with the fact that only one name survives to-day, which seems to represent one or other of them, raises some suspicion that there may have been an accidental repetition by the scribe.

¹ Cotton MSS. Claudius; C. xi. fo. 136b.

The correctness of the list, with its total of 406 acres, 1 rood, is, however, proved by independent evidence in the form of a Memorandum preserved among the papers now in the keeping of the Rector of Little Hadham. Unfortunately undated, this document is a copy of something much earlier. It opens with this statement:

The Bishops of Ely, being lords of the manor of Little Hadham, one of them gave the tithes of the domains to the Priory of Ely. This grant, though confirmed by Pope Innocent in 1246, and enjoyed for some time (as appears by the Priory being taxed to the King for these tithes), came afterwards to be controverted by the Rector of Hadham Magna as prejudicial to the rights of the Rectory.

The controversy was at last ended by an amicable composition (which is still extant, with a recital of the whole process), made in 1300 by the Bishop of London as ordinary, by the Dean and chapter of St. Paul's as patrons of Hadham Magna, and by the Bishop of Ely as lord of Hadham Parva.

The story will be found in Newcourt¹ but I have quoted the Hadham document seeing that the explanation it gives as to the origin of the controversy is not found in Newcourt. Both authorities set out the terms of the composition in the original Latin, and here, though in the main they agree, there are certain divergencies.

The details of the composition arrived at need not be referred to, they can be found in Newcourt; practically their only interest to-day lies in the fact that they preserve certain field names. The Hadham document, however, concludes with a statement, again not given by Newcourt, which is valuable as confirming the terrier of 1277, from which indeed, so minute is the agreement, it would seem to have been taken.

This composition not mentioning the number of acres in each field, I have subjoined a survey of the whole demesnes out of a voucher book now in the custody of the Bishop of Ely, and probably older than the composition itself.

Dominica hujus manerii ita distinguitur—

In South field	..	..	132	2
„ campo qui vocatur Clode	..	..	14	1
„ „ „ Wholmstede	..	..	63	1
„ „ „ Lemstede	..	..	70	0
„ „ „ Holmstede	..	..	63	1
„ „ „ Westfield	..	..	21	0
„ „ „ Stockyngs	..	..	42	0
			406	1

It will be seen that field for field, and acreage for acreage, this list agrees absolutely with that given in the terrier of 1277.

¹ *Repertorium*, i., 829.

The manor passed in 1600 to the Crown, by exchange, so all the historians tell us, though only one of them gives any authority.¹ The document he refers to is an eighteenth century copy of the original deed, of which an enrolled copy exists in the Record Office²; there can therefore be no doubt as to the correctness of the date. The Crown was, however, in possession of the manor ten years earlier, as appears from a contemporary tenant's copy of a surrender and admission taken from the Court rolls, and now in my possession. In this, which is dated 1590, the Court is said to be that of the lady of the manor, Queen Elizabeth. Probably the vacancy of the see of Ely from 1581 to 1599 accounts for the delay in executing the actual exchange, and the Crown would no doubt have enjoyed the manor during the vacancy.

Unfortunately this deed gives no details as to the extent of the manor; all we learn from it is that the agistment of the park was late in the tenure of one Hide, a name which appears in the parish registers at that date, and that the demesne land was late demised to John Cheeke, kt., both of which facts go to prove what indeed we knew before, that there was no resident lord. The situation of the park is unknown.

In 1603 the manor passed to the Cecils, with whom it still remains. Should its history ever come to be written, the Court rolls, if they exist, a point on which I am not informed, would have to be consulted. A number of extracts from these, tenant's copies, ranging from 1461 to 1723 have come into my hands; they relate to various plots of land, and in many cases deal with the same holding, which we are thus able to trace through a number of years; where there is no doubt as to this identity I have grouped them together in the list which follows. The copies have no doubt survived as the title deeds of the lands to which they refer; as they grew older and so became less needed for the purpose of establishing a title, they were put on one side to acquire to-day an historical interest.

1. A cottage newly built and half a rood of land, parcel of three acres in Suffylde, called Way Gap piece. This first appears in 1590 when it passes from Thomas Busshe and Elizabeth his wife to John Dammes and Philippa his wife (married 19th December, 1572). In 1609 the property is differently described, as abutting on Elfering Lane, and is then surrendered by Dammes to his daughters Jane and Joan: Joan marries John Smith (13th May, 1610), and in 1621

¹ Clutterbuck, iii., p. 409, where he refers to Harleian MSS. 7043; p. 427.

² *Close Rolls*; no. 1674.

surrenders her interest to her husband. The property is then described as being in a common field called South field, parcel of a piece called Waygappe, and abutting on Elfering Lane, which makes the identification certain. Both moieties in 1644 combine in William, son of Joan Smith. Elfering Lane must be the road leading from Hadham Ford up to Bury Green; the name is now lost, and I have only met with it in one other instance.¹

2. Sholand. There are eight dealings with what seem to be $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres in this common field between 1581 and 1723. Sholand lay, as we saw above (page 46), on the west side of the road from Little to Much Hadham, and one acre in it 'abutting east on the highway' passed from Sir Richard Parker to Josias Clark in 1581. In the following year Clark surrenders to John Brett, who, dying in 1611, is succeeded by Dyonysius his son, who surrenders in 1620 to his brother Nicholas. In 1630 Caleb Morgan buys one acre and half an acre in Sholand from Henry Thorne, both of which he sells in 1633 to John Parrant; this land lay next to the acre first named, and also abutted on the high road on the east. Caleb also held two more acres in the same field, which he sells, one acre in 1632 to John, and one acre in 1633 to Thomas Parrant. The half acre which he had sold to John in 1633 appears again in 1723, when it is bequeathed by John Wyllley to his wife Elizabeth.

3. One acre in Acresman Lee is dealt with in 1613, when it is sold by Elizabeth Dakins to Ralf Bayford (d. 1658), and in 1684 it is mortgaged by Ralph Bayford, no doubt the son, described as carpenter, of Little Hadham, to one Thomas Leigh. Acreman is a farm lying in the south of the parish, but it is impossible to identify this acre.

4. Tassfield or Taskfield was one of the largest common fields of the Ely manor, and we have sixteen dealings with various plots in it; none of them can be exactly identified, but some of the transactions can be grouped, as evidently having reference to the same plot.

- i. Three acres, late Thomas Bayford, lying by Round Grove, pass in 1503 from Agnes Stockbrigge to Reginald Thorne and Dyssary his wife. In 1628 two closes of 3 acres, no doubt the same 3 acres, but now called Round Grove and Round Grove mead, are sold by William Riden to Caleb Morgan, and in 1630 Morgan parts with the same property to Thomas Poole. Round Grove was spoken of above (page 51), and evidently lay in Tassfield, but where, exactly, cannot be said.

¹ p. 105, *infra*.

- ii. Bennett's land of 4 acres in Tassfield is sold in 1461 by William Abbot to Richard Stockbrigge, and in 1503 Agnes, presumably his widow, parts with it to Reginald Thorne and Dyssary his wife. Bennet was a common name in the parish, and we saw above (page 50) that a Benet held land in this field, though at a later date, 1513.
- iii. Half-an-acre abutting on Round Wood grove on the south, first appears in 1613, when William Stacy sells to John Wright, and in 1622 it comes to Caleb Morgan; how he dealt with it will be seen under the next head, the devolution of the land following the same course.
- iv. One acre in Tassfield abutting on Baggesmead green on the west, and on Round Grove mead on the east, must have been close to the last mentioned plot, and passes in 1613 from the same William Stacy to John Wright, who sells it in 1622 to Caleb Morgan. In 1630 Caleb surrenders the $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres to Thomas Poole. We know where Baggesmead lay (page 41), and this gives some slight guide as to the position of Round Grove in Tassfield.
- v. Five roods in or near Tassfield adjoining Sybill Marshall's woods on the north, late John Thorne, pass in 1628 from George Brett to Anthony Wood, who surrenders them in the next year to his wife Elizabeth. Sybill Marshall never appears elsewhere, unless she be the Sibell Stacey, widow, who marries John Marshall in 1580.
- vi. Nine acres had been held since 1580 by William Hampton, on whose death in 1604 they pass to Joseph his son. Joseph in 1606 sells 10 acres in the same field to James Parrant; these perhaps included the 9 acres.
- vii. In 1634 Thomas Parrant dies, and John his son takes over 4 acres; the acreage suggests that they were the same as the plot dealt with above (ii.), though no longer called Bennett's land.

5. Three acres adjoining the lord's meadow called Hamstede are sold in 1461 by William Abbot to Richard Stockbrigge, and in 1503 Agnes Stockbrigge, probably his widow, parts with the same land to Reginald Thorne and Dyssary his wife.

6. Another common field of the manor was Buggard, which lay close to Sholand, and abutted on the same highway, which is here spoken of as the highway from Nash to Hoddesdon, a place it does ultimately reach, though some twelve miles further on. In this field one acre abutting on the high road passes in 1634 on the death of Thomas Parrant to his son John. Another two acres in this

field, between the highway from Gravesend¹ to Great Hadham, as the same road is now called, are sold in 1624 by John Wright to Elizabeth, wife of Caleb Morgan, and the same two acres come in 1634 to John Parrant.

The remaining copyhold titles of this series appear all to relate to different plots, which lay scattered about the manor; they are as follows.

7. One acre, parcel of ten acres being a field by Hamstede mead had been held since 1580 by William Hampton who had succeeded John Thorne, who had succeeded his father Richard. William being dead (1602) his son Joseph Hampton is admitted in 1604. Hamstede we know to have been one of the common fields of the manor, lying at the south-east end of the parish.

8. Thirty poles and half a virgate, in Nashfield, being part of three acres granted by George Samey to his son Henry in 1580, pass in 1584 from Henry Samey to William Hampton. Nash field was spoken of above (page 39).

9. A tenement which John Sabyn had from John Heminge alias Benet, maltman, son of William, he parts with in 1576 to Richard Clapham.

10. A tenement called Sygors in Little Hadham passes in 1542 from John Brett, then deceased, to George Brett his son.

11. Half a virgate in Grenestrete, called Brette's, also passes in 1542 in the same way as 10.

12. One acre, late John Hawkyn, being parcel of Wyott's, passes in 1503 from Agnes Stockbrigge to Reginald Thorne and Dyssary his wife. This makes the third plot Thorne had bought in this year. Wyott's is quite an unknown name, nor have I ever met with it in the parish.

13. Three acres abutting on Clinton's grove on the south, pass on the death of Thomas Parrant, to his son John in 1634. Clinton's is to-day a farm situated on Bury green, and the land was probably near this.

14. Two acres in two closes, with no boundaries other than personal ones, follow the devolution of 13 in the same year.

15. Five-acre field abutting on Captain William Wright's woods is bequeathed in 1723 by John Wylley to his wife Elizabeth. These woods appear to have been either Round grove, or perhaps Clowdes wood, which must have been just south of Round grove.

16. An indenture of 29th November, 1683, shows that Mary Hawkins of Lucton *alias* Loughton, in Essex, held in this manor a

¹ Gravesend is a hamlet of Albury, through which the road passes. It is curious to notice what varying, and often insignificant terminals are used to identify these roads.

message with divers copyholds thereunto belonging, containing in the whole 33 acres; also three copyhold closes called Elfaringe croft,¹ Short croft, and Short croft mead, together 14 acres; and also 3 acres called Poore grove and Poore grove croft, all which 50 acres she agrees to surrender to trustees on her marriage with Robert Dawgs, also of Loughton.

Here again, we meet with Elfering, but I can trace none of the other names. There is a Short Croft mead to be found in the tythe map; but if I am correct in my placing of Elfering lane, it does not seem likely to have been this one—the name is a common one.

It is difficult to say what these sixteen heads mean in acres, as there can be no certainty that my grouping of them is correct; if it be they account for some 92 acres. Many of the holdings dealt with under them no doubt occur again under the enfranchisement deed of 1876, which will be spoken of later.

These scanty records of the manor contain only one point of more general, though still of merely local interest—Tassfield was bounded on the west by the Ash, and was, as we have seen, broken up into a number of small holdings. On the western side of the field especially, some of these must have been difficult to reach without passing through others. This, in 1621, gave rise to difficulties, for William Wright objected to Thomas Parrant passing through his holding. Referred to the arbitration of Richard Francke of Hatfield Broadoak, it was decided in favour of Parrant that there was a 'chasseway' for all manner of cattle and carts leading out of the highway in Little Hadham through a gate into Tassfield, and so over the west end of the same through the end of a piece of land of William Wright to a meadow of Parrant. The 'chasseway' is still there, serving as an entrance to the lower portion of what, alas! is no longer known as Tassfield; but no one now remembers the heart-burnings it must once have caused.

A chancery suit of 1585 throws yet a little additional light on the manor.² It relates to 100 acres of land called Cayles, in Little Hadham, which William Bayford claimed that his grandfather, John, had held of the manor of Gatesbury. To John had succeeded Richard, on whose death William had been admitted in 1557 at the age of 16, and had enjoyed the premises until expelled by George Haynes. Haynes replies that he derives his title to what must be the same lands, though they are now described as the message and farm called the Castell *alias* Cales, from John Fitzherbert and Richard Braughinge, who held freely of the Bishop of Ely, as of his

¹ Cf., No. 1, *supra*.

² *Chancery Proceedings*, series ii., bundle 19, No. 39.

manor of Little Hadham. Cayles, now represented by Caley wood, we have met with above (pages 51, 92), it lay on the south-western boundary of the parish, and the question involved in this action must have been as to whether the land belonged to the Gatesbury or to the Ely manor. How it was decided does not appear.

A curious side light is thrown on the records of the manor by certain other chancery depositions of the same year, 1585. The matter is a trivial one, a petty dispute concerning 3 roods of land. Another Bayford, John, is a witness, and the question turns on some tampering with the manor records; in his evidence Bayford says that the rolls of Little Hadham manor used to be kept at the Berrye, by which Bury green must be meant, and afterwards, upon suspicion of ill-using, the bag wherein they were put being cut and after sewn up again, they were at length removed to the steeple at Little Hadham. Another witness adds that being now kept in the steeple, they are sealed with the steward's seal, in a chest, the steward keeping one key, the tenants the other. Rolls have been missing, he adds.

The copyholds of the manor must have passed on from tenant to tenant with but little change, until the coming into the parish of Nicholas Segar Parry and Mary Elwin his wife, Whence they came is not known, but the date of their first appearance can be fixed with accuracy by the aid of the registers. Of their seven children the three eldest, Susan, born 1789; Mary, born 1790; and Jane, born 1792, do not appear in our registers; but the baptisms of Segar, born 1793; Thomas, born and died 1795; Nicholas, born 1796; and Henry, born 1798, are all entered. From this it seems safe to conclude that Nicholas Segar came to Little Hadham in 1792 or 1793. He died in 1828, and was followed by Nicholas, his third son, who survived here until 1879, when he died without issue.¹

During this period of eighty-six years father and son gradually built up a large estate which yet remains, and on the death of Nicholas, the son, in 1879, this passed to the descendants of his aunt, his father's sister, who had married one Mitchell. Under the terms of the will the heir had to assume the surname of Parry, so that to-day the property is held by a Parry-Mitchell, who quarters the Parry arms with his own.

When the Parrys first came here they lived, so tradition runs, in a house yet standing at Hadham Ford, known as the Red House, but Nicholas Segar purchased the Hull farm, comprising some 88

¹ Both father and son are buried in a vault in the churchyard here, as is also the son's widow Julia Adelaide, who died as lately as 4th April, 1913, at the age of 91. Mary Elwin, wife of Nicholas Segar, is not buried here.

acres of land, and either in his time or in his son's, this became the home of the family. The house was re-built as a private residence, and most of the fields lying to the east between it and Hadham-on-Ash were thrown into one, to form a small park. One of the common fields of the manor, Bugwood, was absorbed in this way. The old name of Hull was, unfortunately dropped, and the house is now known as Little Hadham Place.¹

The estate built up by the Parrys was comprised partly of freehold and partly of copyhold purchases. Of the latter, the 88 acres forming the Hull farm formed but a small portion; in all they acquired some 367 acres copyhold, all held of the Ely manor except 1 acre, part of Cooper's mead which was held of the Hadham Hall manor.²

These copyholds were made up of some ninety different parcels, and were all enfranchised in 1876. The deed by which this was carried out would be a necessary factor in any attempt to reconstitute the Ely manor; but even with it, and with the tithe map of 1844, the task would not be an easy one. In all copyholds the features of the land may and do change from time to time, while in the documents relating to them the descriptions of a far earlier date are apt to become stereotyped; moreover some of the descriptions are only personal, such as 'land late in the tenure or occupation' of someone; and some are too vague, now that the hedges have been swept away, such as 'one acre lying in Shirland.' If, as is possible, some plan showing what was included in this enfranchisement of 1876, exists, the difficulty would of course be solved, and a large portion of the manor absolutely identified. This task must be left to such as may undertake to write the history of the Ely manor; all I have wished to do is to put on record the facts relating to it which have come to my notice.

¹ See note on p. 1.

² See p. 42. This was also enfranchised in 1876.

APPENDIX V.

NOTES ON SOME EARLY HADHAM DEEDS LATELY DISCOVERED.

Since the foregoing pages were in print the further investigations of the Historical Manuscripts Commission have revealed among the muniments of the Earl of Essex a series of deeds of the existence of which I was, unfortunately, until now ignorant. These deeds are only summarily referred to in the report,¹ but, thanks to the courtesy of Lord Essex and to the kind co-operation of Mr. J. Harley, who is responsible for that portion of the report, I now have a transcript of them.

Ranging from the latter part of the thirteenth century down to 1439, and relating to Hadham as they do, they throw an invaluable light on the earlier history both of the manor and of the village. There is nothing in them to disturb the main conclusions arrived at in the text, but they furnish many new facts, which it is happily not too late to set forth here. Had they been known in time these facts would, of course, have been woven into the main narrative; the plan which recommends itself now is to give an abstract of these deeds in chronological order, adding such notes as may serve to bring out their meaning and help to fit them into the story.

These deeds have a twofold value. First, they give a large number of persons and field-names, some of which are new; secondly, the majority of them contain Baud names. The occurrence of these names, while it confirms in every respect the Baud story as it was set forth in 1909,² has served to add two Baud marriages then unknown; and also goes to prove an earlier and a closer connection of the family with its Hadham manor than it was before possible to establish. It was always doubtful which of the two manors, Hadham or Corringham, claimed their residence before the first years of the fifteenth century, but these deeds show a close personal connection with our manor from, at any rate, the latter part of the thirteenth century; a connection which involves the conclusion that it was their chief residence.

The first thirteen are placed first because they are all undated; and, moreover, as I shall hope to shew, most of them would appear to be earlier than 1306, which is the first definite date we meet with.

¹ Hist. MSS. Com. vii. (various collections), 307.

² *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S., x. 145.

ABSTRACTS OF DEEDS.

1. Grant by Thomas, son of John de Verly, to Augustine le Parker, both of Hadham, of William Scott, his bondman, with the tenement he held, *et cum tota prole sua sive sequela sua de se procreata seu procreanda*, and with his chattels and all other things pertaining to him, the grantee paying 1*d.* yearly at Michaelmas and 40*s.* down. The seal on this deed bears a crescent.

The Scots have occurred frequently in the foregoing pages (32 *et seq.*) and, if the subject of this deed (as is likely) be of the same family, it carries them back to very early times.

2. Grant by the same to the same and Agnes his wife, of four acres in Hadham lying in Prestescroft, between land of the Bishop of Ely and land of William Scot, abutting east on land of Andrew Warin and west upon land of the said William; also 5 acres lying in Aldwyk croft, abutting east on the way to Stortford and west on the land of the said Augustine; rendering yearly a pair of gloves and 1*d.* at Easter.

This deed bears the same seal, and again names William Scot; but the place-names are all unknown.

3. Grant by Thomas de Verly to Reginald le Parker, called Deynes, and Alice his wife, of two acres of land in Hadham, in Middlefeld, between land of the grantor on both sides, one end abutting on the lower field, and the other on le Coppedethornsoth; paying 1*d.* yearly, for all service; and 30*s.* down.

Again the same seal, and again the field-names unknown.

4. Grant by the same to the same (as in 3), of 2 acres in Hadham, lying in the *cultura* called Southleyesothe; paying 1*d.* yearly, and 2 marks of silver down.

Southleyesothe cannot now be traced. The seal remains the same.

5. Grant by the same to the same (as in 3), of 2 acres in Smallheye-feld, between land of the grantees and the hedge called Southleyehieg, in Hadham; paying yearly $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and 20*s.* of good sterlings down.

The land is apparently adjacent to that named in 4, and the seal the same.

6. Grant by Thomas Verly, son and heir of John, of Hadham, to Augustine le Parker and Agnes his wife, of 4 acres in Hadham, in Aylmarescroft, stretching from the King's highway on the south to the field called Redinge on the north, abutting on land of Richard, son of Emma, east, and on land of Geoffrey Hordwy, west; paying yearly $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and 6 marks down.

The seal is the same. Aylmarescroft is quite unknown.

7. Grant by the same to the same (as in 6), of 1 acre and half an acre of meadow with le Stockwell, in Hadham, in Stockwellfeld, between land of William Porter and the dower of Agnes, mother of the said Thomas (Verly). The half-acre lying at the head of the said land, towards the east upon land of Reginald Parker and land of Alice Fuller, paying $\frac{1}{2}d.$ yearly, and giving 40s.

This ends the series of Verly-Parker (or Deynes) grants, of which four are made to Augustine and three to Reginald, some 20 acres in all, and all in Hadham; but none of them connected with the Baud manor.

8. Grant by Eleanor to Reginald le Parker (or Deynes) and Alice his wife of 10 acres in Southleyesoth, in Hadham, rendering $\frac{1}{3}d.$ yearly.

This field occurred in 4.

9. Grant by Gilbert le Wyte, of Hadham, to Alice, daughter of Joce the Fuller, of the same, of land called Clariceaker; also $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Hadham, in Stockwellefeld, next to the bounds of the dower of Agnes de Verli, stretching east to land of Thomas de Verli, and west to the spring called Stockwell; rendering yearly $\frac{1}{2}d.$ and one root of ginger.

The seal is an estoile of seven points, and the deed is given at Berigrene; the lands named connect it closely with 7. Bury green is to this day an existing hamlet in the parish of Hadham.

10. Grant by Simon, the Merchant, of Asshewell, of Parva Hadham, to John Shepherd of Hadham, of a piece of land in Luirecroft, stretching east to land of Andrew Warin, and west to the messuage which the grantor had of the said Andrew, and lying between land of the said Andrew and the King's highway; paying $\frac{1}{4}d.$ yearly, and one clove, and giving one mark of silver.

The seal shows a fleur-de-lis. Asshewell is not a name ever occurring in Hadham, though no doubt it is in some way connected with the river Ash. Luirecroft is equally unknown, and unfortunately the term 'King's highway' is of too common occurrence to be of any assistance in identification, most of the roads which run through the parish being at one time or another so denoted.

11. Grant by Henry de Norctone to Augustine le Parker, of Hadham, of 8 acres in Hadham, lying in Halmstede, between land of the Bishop of Ely, and the King's highway from Stortford to Standone, stretching at one end to Astfeld and at the other to land of the said Bishop; paying yearly 6*d.* and giving 10 marks of silver.

Halmstede is well known, as part of the Ely manor, and has been discussed on page 99; but the difficulty is that this field lay a considerable distance from the Stortford-Standon road. There was

however, close to it a footpath which would answer to the description.

12. Grant by John, son of Peter Joce, of Hadham, deceased, to William de Waldene, clerk, Elizabeth, his wife, and Margaret, their daughter, of 2 acres in Hadham, in Halmstede, between land of the grantor and land held by Julia, mother of the grantor, as dower; abutting east upon Soretelond, belonging to Gilbert, son of Thomas, and west upon the way called Melnewey [Mill road]; paying 4*d.* yearly.

John Joce appeared as a witness in 11, but the grantees are new.

13. Grant by Andrew Warin, of Hadham, to Andrew, his son, of 1 acre in Hadham, lying in Fritleye, between land of Henry atte Berygate and land of John Shepherd.

We come now to the dated deeds; and, though the first does not touch manor or land of Hadham, it does name a Baud, with certain other manors of his, and a Melkley who was connected with the Bauds.

14. 1306. Release by Robert de Melkley (Joan, his wife, being named) to William, son of Sir Walter le Baud, of all his right in a rent of 36*s.* which he was wont to receive from the lands held of him by William, in Hynksteworthe in Hertfordshire, and Eddeworthe in Bedfordshire, to hold with all homages *etc.* of the chief lord.

These manors are named again in 18, so I postpone speaking of them till then.

15. 1307. Grant by Augustine, son of Augustine Parker, of Hadham, to Geoffrey, son of John de Brokhole of Magna Mundene, of all his lands and tenements in Hadham.

16. 1316. Grant by Agnes, daughter and heiress of William Porter, of Hadham, to Augustine le Parker and Matilda his wife, of Hadham, of one acre and one rood lying in Goldstones Croft, between land of Margaret, sister of the grantor, on the south, and the road leading from Hadham to Thorley on the north, abutting on a croft of William Alewy east, and on a messuage of the grantor west.¹

Goldstones croft has not survived as a name. Thorley lies 3½ miles south-east of Hadham; there is now a trackway leading to it from Bury green, which may be the road referred to.

17. 1318. Release by Agnes Porter, daughter and heiress of William Porter, of Hadham, to Augustine Parker and Matilda his wife, of 5½ roods of land in Overhouses Croft.

The croft is unknown.

¹ This deed with two others (25, 26, *infra*) became separated from the rest of the Essex manuscripts, and formed part of the Philipps' collection, whence they passed, in 1912, into my possession.

Of these seventeen deeds the last four are dated, and then we have a break in the series of twenty-two years, 1318-1340, so we may pause here to enquire what date can be assigned to the undated ones. With the possible exception of number 11, they must be of the thirteenth century, and the first evidence available as to the period in that century to which they belong, comes from the names of the parties and witnesses occurring in them. I have hitherto purposely omitted the names of the witnesses, as it is only by arranging them in tabular form that their value as evidence of date can be made apparent. Their names are divisible into two classes, according as they appear more or less frequently. The following table gives those forming the first class, the numbers following the names being the numbers of the deeds in which they appear, as recorded above. The numbers in heavier type denote that on that occasion the individual is a party to the deed, and not merely a witness.

Any chronological arrangement of these deeds *inter se* is of course quite impossible, and this the table does not attempt, except in the two instances of Parker and Porter, where a son and a daughter appear after a father, whose decease is mentioned in the later deeds.

Undated.													1306	1307	1316	1318	
Walter Baud	1	2		4		6		9		10	*11	*12	*13		*15		
William Baud														14	15	16	17
Andrew Warin, son of																	
William	1	2	3	4	5		7	8	9	10		12	13				
Andrew Warin, son of																	
Andrew											11		13				
Augustine le Parker ..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11						
Augustine le Parker, son																	
of Augustine															15	16	17
Reginald Parker																	
(or Deynes)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9								
William le Porter ..		2	3	4	5		7		9	10							
Agnes le Porter, daughter																	
of William																16	17
Thomas de Verly, son of																	
John	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		9		11						
William le Madle ..	1	2		4		6			9						15		
Guy de Upwyke ..	1			4		6	7										
Gilbert le Wyte ..	1	2	3	4	5		7		9								
John Rogerson, clerk ..			3	4	5				9	10							
Walter Brounsone ..										10		12	13		15	16	17

* In these cases the name is qualified by the epithet *miles*.

The result of this table is to show that probably all thirteen deeds are earlier than the first dated one of 1306, and yet the undated are connected with the dated in several cases.

Walter Baud, the father, and William, his son, run through both series; le Parker, the father, always undated, is succeeded by his son who is always dated; and the like is true of William le Porter, who is followed by Agnes his daughter. Lastly Walter Brounsone is three times undated and three times dated. So far it is clear that the undated are connected with the dated. Next the undated series must be all of one period; for Andrew Warin, and Augustine and Reginald le Parker, to take the best examples, run through almost all of them.

So far the evidence goes to show that the thirteen undated deeds range back from 1306 through the life of one generation, say thirty years, and this theory can be almost absolutely proved by a contemporary document now in the British Museum. Thomas de Verly occurs in the first seven, and in the ninth and eleventh deed, and is more than once described as the son of John. Now a terrier of the Ely manor of 1277 gives us John de Verly as holding freely from that manor¹ one hide of land, as the fourth part of one knight's fee. Again, Andrew son of William Warin appears in eleven of the deeds; but in 1277 we find a William, son of Warin, also holding from the Ely manor. Therefore John de Verly and William Warin were both living in 1277, and the occurrence in twelve out of the thirteen undated deeds, of two persons bearing the same surnames, who may safely be assumed to be their sons, gives us without any doubt 1277 as a *terminus a quo* for the period in which these must be placed.

The name Verly is not often found at Hadham, but one later instance of it may be cited, seeing that it confirms some of the facts gleaned from these deeds. The first seven are all Verly-Parker conveyances, and the seventeenth, dated 1318, tells us that Matilda was wife of Augustine Parker. In 1353 an order was issued to John de Coggeshall, escheator, not to meddle with land in Hadham called Vyrililand, since Matilda, late wife of Augustine Parker (*i.e.*, the son), held the said land at her death of other than the king;² we know that it was held of the Bishop of Ely, and it was doubtless some of the land of which these deeds record the purchase.

The occurrence of the two Bauds among the witnesses does not help in the problem of dating, for unfortunately we cannot fix the birth or death of either of them with absolute accuracy. Walter, the father, runs through the undated ones up to and including the dated deed of 1307, and in the last three (12, 13, 15) is styled knight. William, the son, appears in 10 and 11, being a knight in the latter; in 15 he and his father both sign, but in this, as in 14, 16 and 17

¹ Cotton MS. Claudius: c. xi., fo. 163b.

² Cal. Close Rolls, 27 Ed. III.

(1306, 1316, 1318), he is plain William again, though he must have been lord of the manor at the date of the last two. It seems impossible to draw any inference from the use of the title.¹

Having made this digression I resume the catalogue of the deeds.

18. 1340. Grant by William le Baud, Knight, to John, his son, of the homages, services, and rents, of all his tenants of the two manors of Eddesworth and Hinksworth, named in 14.

Seal: a shield charged with three chevronels, the Baud arms; and the deed is dated at Hadham. William Baud died in 1343,² and is thus handing over to his son two of his manors three years before his death. The deed of 1306 (14) gave us the release of a rent held by Robert de Melkley and secured on those manors, the first of which, Hinksworth, remained with the Bauds till early in the sixteenth century, when it was sold in the *débâcle* which overtook the family at that time.³ Of the second, Eddesworth, I have no information, nor have I ever met with it among the many manors owned at different times by the Bauds.⁴ Robert de Melkley, whose wife was Joan (named in 14), was father-in-law to Walter Baud, as I think, and it must have been through Alice de Melkley, his wife, that Walter became possessed of the manor of Melkley,⁵ which is close to Hadham. This manor remained with the Bauds down to 1502, when the Thomas of that date parted with it to Sir William Say, of Essenden.⁶ Another link between these deeds and the con-

¹ The names given in the table are those which appear most frequently in the deeds. Other names which it may be well to note for purposes of local history are:—John, le clerk, of Aldebury; Roger Brian; Stephen de Hamptone; Thomas and Robert Faber; Richard le Flecher; Adam Plantynges; William, le clerk, of Upwyke; Alexander ad Molendinum; Stephen Thorold; John de Banco; William Masculus; Roger de Foxcote; Nicolas Blythwyne; William at Shoppe; John de Brickendon; and William de Dalton.

² *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, x., 160.

³ Cussans, i., p. 9 (Odsey Hundred). The financial disasters which overtook Thomas Baud at that date, disasters which brought about the sale of Hadham, have more than once been referred to (p. 6). Fresh confirmation of these comes from a document of 1513, recently found in the Record Office (Early Chan. Proc.: bundle 293, nos. 54-57). From this it appears that Sir William Say and Thomas Puryent owed Sir Thomas Baud 40*l.*, and the latter, 'being in extreme necessitie of povertie,' requested Capell to lend him 40*l.*, which, 'perceiving his necessitie and povertie and that being chargeable to the Exchequer of the late King Henry VII he would otherwise be cast into prison,' Capell agreed to do, taking as security the obligations of Say and Puryent, whom at the same time he notified, requesting that payment should be made to him. When Capell applied for payment the two debtors desired to be spared a little time, which was granted, after which they craftily obtained an acquittance from Baud. Summoned in Chancery the debtors plead the acquittance, with what result does not appear, but Capell's replication describes the acquittance as 'deceitful and fraudulent.' The liability of Baud to the Exchequer must have been other than the mortgage of Hadham, for that had been fully discharged by 1513.

⁴ Edworth and Hinxworth, as the names now are, lie a little to the south-east of Biggleswade; a mile apart, the county boundary runs midway between them. The *Victoria County History* (Bedfordshire, ii., 223) does not notice either the Melkley or Baud connection with the former manor at this date, but the Hertfordshire volume (iii., 235) gives both families as concerned in the latter.

⁵ *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, x., 149.

⁶ Cal. Close Rolls, 18 Hen. VII., 15.

nection of the Bauds with Melkley may also be noted. Richard de Gatesbury is a witness to the deed of 1316 (16) and was also, as fermor of the manor of Melkley, then confiscated to the king, ordered to pay to Alice, daughter of Robert Melkley, 100s. yearly from the manor of Melkley, for William, son of Walter le Baud, had charged himself with the said payment to Alice after her father's death.¹ This was in 1323.

19. 1341. Lease by John le Baud to William le Draper and Sibyl his wife, of Magna Hadham, of a messuage called le Eldehall and 32 acres arable and 4 acres meadow, in Magna Hadham, for their joint lives, paying 46s. yearly.

A later endorsement states that John Patmere, of Magna Hadham, holds of the tenement called Oldehalle certain lands, to wit, Oldehalfeld, Oldehalleyghettel, le Grene, le Bygynglane, Baudysmede, Savenymede, le Outlasse, Wodefeld, Stokynge, and Ladywode, which Richard Persel once held, paying yearly 4 marks.

I cannot but think that this lease deals with a portion of the Melkley manor, a name which has now become Mentley, and lives on in a farm a short mile west of Puckeridge; while Eldehall and the Green are still to be found in Old Hall Green, close to St. Edmunds College. The Melkley manor was held at the end of the thirteenth century by Sir Robert de Melkley (a witness in 8 and a party to 14 above), who died in 1316. It is curious that none of the early county historians know anything of the connection of the Bauds with this manor, which certainly belonged to them, coming to them, as I suggest, by the marriage of Walter Baud with Alice, daughter of Robert de Melkley.²

20. 1344. Lease by John le Baud to Andrew Taylour, of Hadham, and Agnes his wife, of one acre in Hadham, between the cemetery of the said village and land held by Richard Godbode; abutting east upon le Cherchestreet and west upon land of the lessor.

The identification here is quite clear, for this must be the land now occupied by Church End House, spoken of on page 37 as forming part of block B (plan ii.). Cherchestreet is now Church End Lane, and the 'land of the lessor,' Churchfield. The witnesses to this deed are all new, as one would expect after the interval, but we have an echo of the earlier names in John le Porter.

21. 1345. Grant by John le Baud to William Bradwell, Mariota his wife, Joan, Agnes, and Catherine, their daughters, of 12 acres in Hadham between land of Guy de Upwyke called Wowhatere, and the croft of Henry Darcy called Holecroft, abutting on the meadow

¹ Cal. Close Rolls, 17 Ed. ii.

² In the *Victoria County History* however, (Herts. iii., 359), the facts are fully given.

called Holemead at one end, and upon the King's highway from Storteford to Upwyke at the other, paying 16s. yearly.

Among the witnesses to this deed are Guy de Upwyke and John Plantynge, who show the continuance of the same families in the district; while Geoffry de la Lee and Robert atte Lee were no doubt members of the Albury family of that name.

To meet with Woowaters at this date as belonging to Guy de Upwyke, and not therefore a part of the Baud manor, is surprising; for in 1574, as in 1725, it was certainly treated as demesne land (page 23). The possible explanation is this. When tracing the northern boundary of the Baud manor we found that at this point only it was not conterminous with the parish boundary, which we here found bisecting Woowaters (page 29). It seems therefore probable that the manor boundary did, in early times, coincide with the parish boundary here as elsewhere, and that the name Woowaters, applying originally only to the Upwick portion of the field now known by that name, was extended later to cover that part of it which lay in the Baud manor; just as it was again extended in 1634, when Chylleshot was purchased and thrown into it. The other boundaries given do not help in any way; the 'King's highway' is the road running through Morefield towards Upwick and Albury, still existing at this point just north of the present Woowaters (plan ii.); Holecroft is unknown, but Holemead appears once again in a deed of 1420; both were evidently in Upwick manor.

The next deed, both in its parties and in its witnesses, brings us back to families we met with in the early series.

22. 1347. Grant by William Waryn, of Hadham, to John his son, of 4 acres in Hadham, of which 2 acres lay in le Mellefeld, together in one piece of land called Goredoole, between land of William Deynes (*i.e.* Parker, see 3) on both sides, extending north to land of John Skot and south to the meadow of the grantor. Another acre lay in le Wallefeld, between land of John le Whrite and land of the grantor, stretching east to a croft of William Deynes and west to the grantor's croft called Ovirgrove. The fourth acre lay in le Redyngge, between land of Guy de Heldere and land once of Augustine le Parker, stretching south to land once of Thomas atte Hoo, and north to the field of the Bishop of Ely, called le Stokkyngge.

Mellefeld must be Millfield (plan ii.); the next three names are lost, but Stocking and Readings no doubt perpetuate the last two: these we met with in the perambulation of the parish (page 95).

The witnesses furnish three names met with earlier; John Augstyn; William Waryn, junior; and John Skot.

The next deed is of the same date: it has the same parties and witnesses, and gives many place-names.

23. 1347. Grant by the same and Margaret, his wife, to the same, of a curtilage next to the cemetery of the Church of Hadham, 6 perches long by 5 wide; also a plot of land and garden at Hadham atte Naysshe, between the messuage of Stephen Wynter and a way called la Sumpe in a field called Aysshecroft. Also six acres of land, one acre of which lay in Aysshecroft, between land of Stephen Wynter on both sides, stretching west to land once of William Elyot and east to the said plot and garden. A second acre lay in the same field between land of Henry Wyseman¹ west, and land once of Richard Wynter east. A third lay in Folcherysfeld between land of John Bysouthern north, and land of Geoffry Elyot south, stretching to the park of Geoffry de la Lee called Ponescho at one end, and at the other to the King's highway from Hadham atte Naysshe towards Newport. The fourth, fifth, and six acres, lay separately in Mellefeld; two of them at Longelond, between land of William Deynes on both sides, stretching west to land of the Bishop of Ely, and east to land of John Boole; and the third acre at Shogoeland, between land of William Wyditone on both sides, and stretching west to land of the Bishop of Ely and east to land of William atte Hoo.

This deed would be invaluable could one but identify the various parcels with any certainty; but unfortunately one can only be sure of the whereabouts of some of them. The first is a small scrap of land next the cemetery, measuring only 99 by 82 feet, and the description of it suggests the half-rood of land, lying between the churchyard and the saffron-garden, on which 'the church house stood' (page 37), sold in 1589 by the inhabitants of Little Hadham to William Parrante; but the area unfortunately in no way agrees with the present measurement.

'Hadham atte Naysshe' carries back the still existing name of the hamlet to early times; and the Sump-way runs diagonally across what is later called Nashfield, but at this date Aysshecroft (page 39 and plan ii.). We are then taken to a field the name of which is quite lost, Folcheryscroft, but a neighbouring tenant, John Bysouthern, reminds us of Bysouths, a plot identified in 1523 (page 41 and plan ii.), though this cannot be the boundary of the acre dealt with in this deed; the road from Hadham to Newport must have been its east boundary, and it ran west up to what was then Albury park, which at this point abuts on our manor. Seeing how definite are the boundaries of Folcheryscroft, it is most tantalising

¹ This carries back the name Wiseman, which we met with in 1512 (page 38), to a much earlier date.

not to be able to identify it ; but, though it must have been part of, or close to, Nashfield, it fits in to nothing that we know at this point ; and, unfortunately, all the names are now lost.

The next parcel takes us back to Millfield, but its third acre, Shogoeland, I am quite unable to identify. This deed is followed by one dated four days later.

24. Release by William Waryn, son and heir of William, to John his brother, of all his right to the premises comprised in the last deed.

25.¹ 1368. Grant by Thomas Deynes, son and heir of William, of Hadham, to Henry Glympton and Johanna his wife, of two pieces of land formerly of John Joce, lying in the field called Behyndesmythes, one piece lying between land of the said Henry and land formerly of William Waryn, and abutting at each end on land of the said Henry. The other piece lying between land of John Skot and land formerly of William Waryn, one end abutting on land of the said Henry, and the other on land of the Bishop of Ely.

Some of the names in this deed carry us back over a century, for in number three we learnt that Reginald Parker was called Deynes. John Joce was probably a member of the same family as Joce the Fuller, whose daughter Alice appeared in number nine, and who himself appeared as a witness in number eleven ; while we met with a Peter Joce in twelve.² The Waryns have so far been with us all the time. The witnesses bear further evidence to the continuity of these Hadham families ; first comes William Baud, Knight, son of John (1346-1388) ; then John Waryn (probably the grantee of twenty-two), with two Scots, John and Thomas : and a Richard Benet, the first occurrence of a name which lived on to reach the registers, in which it continues for many years.

The field name of the deed is no longer traceable.

26.³ 1368. Grant by the same to the same of what must be the same premises. The deed is slightly later in date, and there is a slight variation in the names of the witnesses.

27. 1369. Grant by Geoffrey atte Hacche and William atte Thorne to John Adam and Alice his wife, all of Hadham, of a curtilage and house in Hadham, between the field of John Waryn north, and Moryenegrene south, abutting west on the said green, and east on the croft which the grantor had of the said Adam.

¹ See note to 16 *supra*.

² The name must have been a common one in the district ; another instance of it occurs in the document of 1277, cited above, where we find Geoffrey, son of Jocus le Berker, *i.e.*, Shepherd.

³ See note to 16, *supra*.

Among the witnesses are Thomas Benyte, Roger Storeman, William Taylur, John Wydie, and John Skot. The seal bears four bars nebuly. There are several greens in Hadham, but the one named here is now lost (*see* 32 *infra*).

28. 1369. Grant by Beatrix, widow of John Speleman, to Geoffrey atte Hacche, of Hadham, of a curtilage and house at Hadham, at le Beregrene, between the tenement of Thomas Deynis called Joces west, and the said green east; one head abutting south on the garden of Joce, and the other north on the croft of John Warin.

John Skot, John Wydie, Nicholas Benyte, and Roger Storeman, act as witnesses. Joces is clearly a name which had now attached itself to land which Joce must have held a century earlier; while the green is easily recognised as the Bury Green of to-day. The plot seems to be the same as that dealt with in the next deed and in 43.

29. 1371. Grant by Geoffry Bateman and Beatrix, his wife, to Hugh Tailor, all of Hadham, of a messuage at le Berigrene, between a tenement of Thomas Skot west, and the green east, stretching to the garden of Thomas Skot south, and to the field of John Warin north.

Henry Glyntone, John and Thomas Skot, and Geoffry atte Hacche, are witnesses.

30. 1374. Grant by John Page to John Adam, both of Hadham, of a curtilage and house between the curtilage of the said Adam north, and Moryenegrene south, abutting west on the messuage of John Adam, and east on a croft of the same, measuring 5 perches by 3.

Witnesses: Henry Glyntone, Thomas Scot, Nicholas Benyte, Roger Storeman, and Geoffry atte Hacche.

31. 1375. Grant by John, son of John Waryn, of Hadham, to John Grygge, chaplain (of Farnham, *see* 33), Robert Parker, of the parke of Stanstede Mounfychet, John Mynot of the same, and Geoffry atte Hache, of Hadham, of the reversion of all his lands which belonged to his father in Hadham, after the death of Christina, wife of his said father.

Witnesses: Henry Glyntone, Thomas Scot, John Wedye, Thomas Benyte, William Taillour, and others. The seal is the same as in 27.

32. 1376. Grant by John Adam, carpenter, to Henry Glymptone and Joan his wife, all of Hadham, of a messuage once of Alice, daughter of Geoffry Bateman, in Hadham, between the field of John Waryn north, and Moryenegrene south, abutting west on the common street leading from the manor of the Bishop of Ely to the gate of John Waryn, and east on the house of John Adam.

Witnesses: Thomas Morewelle, knight; John Waryn, Thomas Skot, John Wydye, Geoffrey atte Hacche, and Nicholas Benyte. The seal bears the Agnus Dei.

It would seem that 'the manor of the Bishop of Ely' must mean the manor house of which no trace survives (page 1). The premises seem to be those comprised in 27.

33. 1376. Grant by John Adam, of Hadham, to Sir John Grigges, parish chaplain of Farnham, Roger Norman, and John Sponere, both of Hadham, of all his lands in Hadham.

Witnesses: Henry Glyntone, Thomas Scot, Geoffrey atte Hacche, William Taillour, *etc.*

34. 1386. Terrier¹ of Sir Thomas Morewelle, Knight; a rough memorandum only, and a sixteenth century copy of some original, nor is it at all easy to understand its meaning. Headed 'Hadham Parva,' in the margin is written 'resolucio redditorum.' The text then runs 'Episcopo pro reditu ad pascham Plantynys, ij*d.* et ad festum sancti Michelis, ij*d.* Item de manerio de Bawdes ad dictos terminos v.s. et v.s. Item episcopo Londoniensi pro campo vocato Jerveylesfeld pro anno, vij*d.*'

This document offers several difficult questions. The heading 'Hadham Parva' shews that it is a note of dues payable by that Manor. We shall see later (39 *infra*) that at this date, 1386, Morwell was holding the Baud Manor, as trustee or guardian, and these were doubtless payments to be made by him in that capacity; but to whom were they to be made? for the wording of the memorandum leaves it an open question whether two bishops are implied, or only one. If two are meant, then the bishop of the first two payments—2*d.* and 5*s.*—can only be the Bishop of Ely, and Plantynes must mean Plantynes wood only, which on this theory would have been held of the Ely manor. On the whole, though with much hesitation, I incline to think that but one bishop is meant, London, and that all the lands lying south of the Hadham-Stortford road, as shewn on plan ii., were held of him, and were gradually added by purchase to the Baud estate. A strong reason in support of this view is, that they all lie on the Stortford side of the parish boundary, and there is no evidence that the Ely manor ever extended into Stortford parish. One thing is quite clear, these Plantynes lands were never, as I assumed in the text (page 25) demesne, though they later came to be treated as such.

Another puzzle is about Jerveylesfeld, but I reserve dealing with this until later (42 *infra*).

¹ This document is now in my possession.

The document goes on to deal with the manor of Upwyk Hall, which at this date probably already belonged to the Bauds, and for which therefore Morwell would be responsible, as he was for the Hadham manor. The tenants here pay vijs. to someone unnamed, though it was no doubt to the Bishop of London, and ijs. for castleguard; they also pay 1*lb.* of cummin, to whom, or for what, is unstated. Castleguard must have been in respect of the castle of Bishop's Stortford, the payment of which was disputed in later years by William Capell (page 8).

35. 1387. Grant by Bartholomew Kere and John Grygge, chaplain, to Thomas Morewelle, Knight, and Alice his wife, for their lives, with remainder to Thomas Baud and his heirs for ever, of two fields in Storteford, to hold of the chief lords of his fee.

John Grygge appeared as chaplain of Farnham in 1375 and 1376 (31, 33). This purchase, like the one to be noted later (42), was an addition to the Baud property, though it must have been held of the Stortford manor. Why it was conveyed to Sir Thomas Morwell and his wife will be understood when we come to 39; but here we may note an interesting fact. In 1427 a settlement was made by this same Thomas Baud of lands called Plantynes in the town and field of Stortford, which were purchased of (*sic*, but I suggest that it should read 'by') Sir Thomas Morwell, and were given to Sir Thomas Baud to the uses of his will,¹ on certain religious trusts, *i.e.* to pray for Thomas and Mary his wife, and for William and Alice (his father and mother), with an ultimate reversion to Thomas, son of the settlor. It seems clear that this purchase of 1387 comprises the lands included in the later settlement, which possibly may have also included the other Plantynes lands purchased by the settlor later in 1423 (42). What is difficult to see is, why this purchase of 1387, which ultimately, as things turned out, became an addition to the Hadham estate, should not have been intended for the benefit of Walter, John, or William, who were all successive lords of the manor between 1387 and 1426.

36. 1388. Grant by John Adam to Henry Glymptone, both of Hadham, of all his lands in Hadham.

Witnesses: John Waryn, Geoffrey atte Hacche, John Parker, William Stacey. This is the first appearance of the last name, which still survives, the present bearer of it living at Wickham Hall; evidently a very old Hadham family, the name appears in the registers at their first commencement in 1559.

37. 1395. Lease by Thomas Morewell, Knight, and Alice, his wife, to John Waleys of Hadham, wheelwright, of a tenement in

¹ *Chauncy*, 154.

Hadham at le Assche, with 2 acres in le Asschfeld and the garden adjoining the tenement, called Cokes, for life, paying yearly 6s. 8d., and doing suit at the manor of Hadham called le Baudes every three weeks.

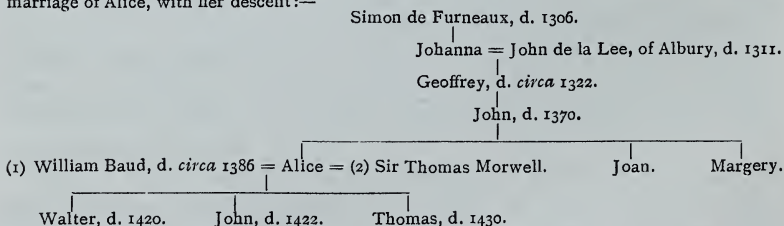
Witnesses: Henry Glimptone, Thomas Parker, Richard Smyth, Richard Farnham, *etc.*

Here again we have Thomas Morwell and Alice, his wife, dealing with lands of the Baud manor, the explanation of which must be left till we come to 39.

38. 1396. Thomas Baud, the son of William, appears as a witness; he succeeded to the manor in 1426, after the death of his two brothers and his nephew.

39. 1398. The same Thomas is again a witness to a deed which is of the greatest interest, as throwing, in connection with a document of 1422 which I recently found in the Record Office, fresh light on a complicated period of the Baud pedigree. When the account of the Bauds was written in 1909 the further facts supplied by these documents were unfortunately unknown. This later knowledge, however, does not in any way affect the devolution of the manor of Hadham as then set out, in fact it confirms it; but it helps to account, *inter alia*, for the frequent appearance of Sir Thomas Morwell in the Hadham deeds of this period. Moreover the fact which these documents make clear, that Alice, wife of William Baud, married secondly Sir Thomas Morwell, reveals to us her identity, and proves her to have been a de la Lee, one of the three co-heiresses of John, of Albury. A full pedigree is given in Cussans who knew of the Morwell marriage, though he is ignorant of the earlier Baud marriage.¹ It was always known that William Baud had a wife, Alice. Now in this deed of 1398 she appears as grantor, and is described as Alice de Morwell, late wife of Thomas Morwell, Knight. The seal in part confirms the fact; and, though its blazon is curious, it is not unprecedented. It is said to be *Sigill' Alicie*

¹ Cussans (*Hundred of Edwinstree*, p. 148). The following sketch-pedigree shews the double marriage of Alice, with her descent:—



See also Chauncey, pp. 140, 147, 154. He was equally ignorant of the Baud-de la Lee marriage, which fully explains the references he gives, especially the last one.

Baud, and bears a fesse between two chevrons, with a label of three points; impaling three chevronels. The latter are the Baud arms, and the seal must have been one used by Alice when the wife of William Baud. The fesse between two chevrons must be the de la Lee arms, though these do not agree with those given by Cussans, *viz.*: argent, on a cross azure, five leopards' faces, or. The presence of the Baud arms, with the name Baud attached to the seal, affords ample evidence of the double marriage of Alice, but the document of 1422, when coupled with the deed of 1398 provides the fullest confirmation of the fact, and also gives us the name of a second wife of John, second son of William and Alice Baud. It is a claim against William Cane, of London, Cuppemaker, and John Wytleseye, glasyer, executors of Peter Payn, son of Robert Payne of Pelham Arsa (Brent Pelham), clerk, by Typhane, widow of John Baud, son of Alice Morwell, late wife of Thomas Morwell, Knight of Hadham, John Berewyk parson of Bures Gyffard, and William Norton of Ronewell, executors of John Baud, on a bond said to have been given by Peter Payne to John Baud, Alice Morwell, and Walter Baud, son of Alice, by which Peter was to pay 20 marks; Alice, John, and Walter, are all said to be deceased.¹ The claim failed, but the relationships remain for our instruction.

That William Baud and Alice had three sons: Walter, John and Thomas, was known; but what is new is to find Typhane as the widow of John. From this we may infer that she succeeded, as a second wife, Elizabeth Berland, whom he certainly married. All that could be said as to William Baud's death was an inference that it was probably before 1388, and here the question of Sir Thomas Morwell comes in. He first appears, as witness only, to a Hadham deed of 1376 (32); in 1386 (34) we have a terrier of his which goes to prove that he was then in control of the Hadham manor; in 1387 (35) he and Alice, his wife, purchased two fields belonging to the Stortford manor, which became part of the Baud property; in 1395 (37), again with Alice, his wife, he grants lands belonging to the Baud manor. It is therefore quite obvious that he was intimately connected with it. These four deeds of 1386, 1387, 1395, and 1398, coupled with the document of 1422, give us the key to what would else have remained a mystery. It is clear that after the death of William Baud, which must now be placed before 1386, when Morwell was already dealing with the Hadham manor, Alice Baud had married him, and their joint intervention in the affairs of the manor can be accounted for, if we assume them to have been acting as

¹ De Banco Rolls, 1. Hen. VI., 320m. For what was said about this period in 1909, see *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.* x. 161.

trustees of the property during the minority of either one of her sons, Walter or John, or of her grandson William; for Thomas, her third son, did not succeed to the manor until 1426. If further evidence on this point is needed, it will be found in the fact that Thomas Morwell presents to the living of Corringham in 1391 and 1393 and Alicia Morwell, 'widow of the lord of the manor of Corringham,' in 1408,¹ so she and her second husband must evidently have been holding all her first husband's manors at those dates.

Sir Thomas Morwell was living as late as 1396, in which year he, with Alice his wife, appear in a deed relating to Albury manor;² but, as the deed we are now considering shews, he was dead in 1398. His widow who was living in 1406 (*cf.* 41, *infra*) was dead in 1422, as appears from the de Banco roll.

40. 1398. Grant by William son of John Taylor to William atte More, both of Hadham, of a messuage and garden formerly his father's, in Hadham, between the King's highway from Stortford to London and the croft of Roger atte Thorne; abutting east on the croft once of John Waryn, called Caleyscroft, and west upon land of the lord.

Witnesses: Henry Glymtone, Nicholas and Thomas Benyte, John Parker senior, etc.

What we should call the road from Stortford to London comes nowhere near Hadham. The question must have been looked at from a local point of view, and the road meant is probably the Hadham-Hoddesdon-London road. Caleyscroft is probably connected with Caley wood (page 92).

41. 1406. Grant by Richard Cranchoo, of Aldebury, and John Rande, of Farnham, to Richard Farnham, of a messuage and croft of one acre in Hadham, next land of Lady de Morwell on one side and land of Richard on the other.

Witnesses: John Farnham. Richard Smyth, etc.

A release by John Farnham, of Braughenge (Braughing), of all his right in the premises follows in 1406.

42. 1423. Grant by Richard Grenesfeld, parson of the church of Curryngnam, Essex, to Thomas Baud senior, esquire, of a field in Storteford called Jarveylesfeld, which the grantor with John Baud, esquire, deceased, lately had of the feoffment of Robert House and John Hokkele. Also two pieces of meadow, one head of which abutted on the King's highway at Plantyngesbregge, leading from Hadham to Storteford; together with one grove of wood adjoining

¹ *Newcourt* ii. 193.

² *Chauncey* 147.

the said meadow, containing 2 acres 3 roods by estimation, once parcel of the lands and tenements called Plantynges, to hold of the chief lords.

The grantee here is quite clear, being Thomas who succeeded to his nephew William in 1426; but, though he was not to become lord of the manor until three years later, on the death of William, he is here taking conveyance to himself of land which continued, down to 1900, to be held as part of the Hadham property. This is the second case of lands in Stortford parish being added to the Baud estate, for in 1387 two fields were so bought (35 *supra*). In each case the purchase was made by trustees who continued to hold the land for some time before transferring it to the Bauds. In 1387 one of the trustees was chaplain of the neighbouring village of Farnham; here we have the rector of Corringham. His presence in this capacity adds yet another link to the many connecting that place with Hadham for he was, of course, a nominee of the Bauds, the patrons of Corringham.¹ John Baud, the other trustee in this case, had died in 1422, so the conveyance is by Grenefeld, as surviving. The land comprised in this deed must have been held by the trustees since before 1386, and further it is clear that they had held it on behalf of the Baud manor, for in that year we saw that certain rents were due to the bishop in respect of Jerveylesfeld and Plantynes, which must be the lands included in this conveyance (34 *supra*). We meet with Jerveylesfeld later, in 1556, and what is known of it then has been dealt with in the text (page 24); where it lay exactly, one cannot say, for the name is long lost, but it evidently formed part of what I have termed the Plantynes lands. The Plantynes wood of to-day contains thirteen acres, so if it be 'the grove of wood' of this deed it has considerably increased in size. As to the meadow we can be quite certain of its identity; from the description given of it, it must be the narrow strip shewn on plan ii., immediately west of Plantynes wood. This meadow abuts on the King's highway where there is a marked depression in the road. The 'Plantyngesbregge' of 1423 is now represented by a culvert, but the floods which now and again occur at this point are quite sufficient to justify the existence of a bridge there in olden times.

43. 1424. Grant by Alice late wife of Geoffrey Schepherde, of Hadham, to William Qwyntyn, John Morse, junior, and John Stacy, of Hadham, of a curtilage and house at Berygrene, between the tenement called Joces west, and the green east; abutting south upon the said tenement and north upon a croft late John Waryn.

¹ It is to be noted that his name is not given in Newcourt (ii., 193), though we are here clearly told that he was parson of Corringham.

Witnesses: Thomas Baude senior, John Norman, Thomas Smythe, William Parker, *etc.* Thomas Baud is the same Thomas who was the grantee of 42. The land conveyed is the same as in 28.

44. 1429. Grant by Thomas, son of Thomas Baud, lord of the manor of Baudys, to Edward Trevore and Idonia his wife, of a tenement called Katelyneshawe, with 3 roods of land adjoining, in Hadham, next the messuage late Stephen Wynter; one head extending to land once of William Elyote, and the other to the common street leading to London, paying 12*d.* yearly and doing suit.

Witnesses: John Daye, Richard Farnham, *etc.* The grantor is the son of Thomas Baud, the witness in the last deed, and now lord of the manor.

We had a messuage of Stephen Wynter in 1347 (23), but that was in Aysshecroft, and it may be noted that in the earlier deed we also have 'land once of William Elyot.' The property may be the same, though it seems doubtful; the name is however quite lost, and the 'common street' too vague a boundary to make any identification possible, though it is probably the same road as the one mentioned in 23.

45. 1431. Grant by Richard Farnham, of Hadham, to Thomas Baryngtone, esquire, and Thomas Newport, of Hormede Magna, of a toft and one acre in Hadham, the toft lying between the King's highway to London east, and Asshefeld west, abutting south upon Sumpelane; the acre lying between land of Thomas Baud on both sides, abutting east on the toft and west upon land of Thomas Baud, which land the grantor lately had of the gift of Richard Craunchoo of Aldebury and John Rande of Farnham.

Thomas Baud, esquire, witnesses the deed. The land is that comprised in the two deeds of 1406 (41), though it is now quite differently described. It was obviously held of the Ely manor, and lay in Nashfield, on the north side of Sump lane (*see* plan ii.).

46. 1438. Lease by Thomas le Baud, esquire, to John Aylward, wheelwright, of a tenement in Hadham at le Asshe, with the two acres and garden comprised in the deed of 1395 (37), for his life, paying yearly 6*s.* 8*d.* and doing suit at the lessor's manor called Baudes. The previous lease of this land in 1395 was made by Thomas Morwell and Alice his wife, and it was then, as now, expressed to be held of the manor of Baudes. The Thomas of this deed was lord from 1430 to 1449.

47. 1439. Sale by John Leventhorpe, esquire, to Thomas Baulde, esquire, of wood and underwood in a field of the vendor's, between a way in the said field leading from the manor of the said Thomas towards Farnham on the south, and the ditch of the wood

of the said Thomas, called Mochallevery, on the north, to be cut and carried by Thomas before the following Easter: for which Thomas paid 26s. 8*d.* and further agreed to ditch and enclose the ground when the wood was cut and to keep it till the end of five years.

The name of the wood connects it with Livery Wood, which lay, as we saw, on the north-eastern boundary of the Hadham manor (page 30 and plan ii.), while the proximity of the road to Farnham makes its location certain. But the deed has a further, and a very special interest, in its bearing on the dates of the Hadham buildings. I suggested in the text that the earlier house was built *circa* 1440 by Thomas Baud (page 60), and this purchase of a considerable amount of timber goes very far to prove the correctness of the suggestion, almost to the very year, for the timber can only have been needed, one must suppose, for building on a considerable scale, such as Thomas Baud was then contemplating.

Hadham Parva is a very small parish, but its six hundred inhabitants of to-day may well be proud of the light which this series of deeds throws on those who lived here six hundred years ago, men who may have been the ancestors of many who now form its population. As with the men so with the fields, some of the names survive, many have perished. The Bauds stand out strongly all through the period, and indeed form the backbone of all Hadham story down to the beginning of the sixteenth century; but round them cluster, in these early days, a company of what must have been men of substance—Warins, Parkers, Porters, Verlys. The lands they are so constantly buying and selling, I take to have been lands of free tenure, held largely of the Ely manor, and this suggests a question; how is it that these deeds came into Baud hands, as it seems clear they must have done, or they would not have passed to William Capell in 1505, to be found among the muniments of his direct descendant to-day? The documents themselves shew that Bauds added lands held of other manors to their Hadham property, as did William Capell, on a considerable scale, in 1513. The explanation that suggests itself is that these deeds formed the title to lands so purchased by the Bauds, and passed with all the Hadham property to William Capell in 1504.

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GREAT BARN



MOAT

GATEHOUSE

EARLY X
LATER

BARN

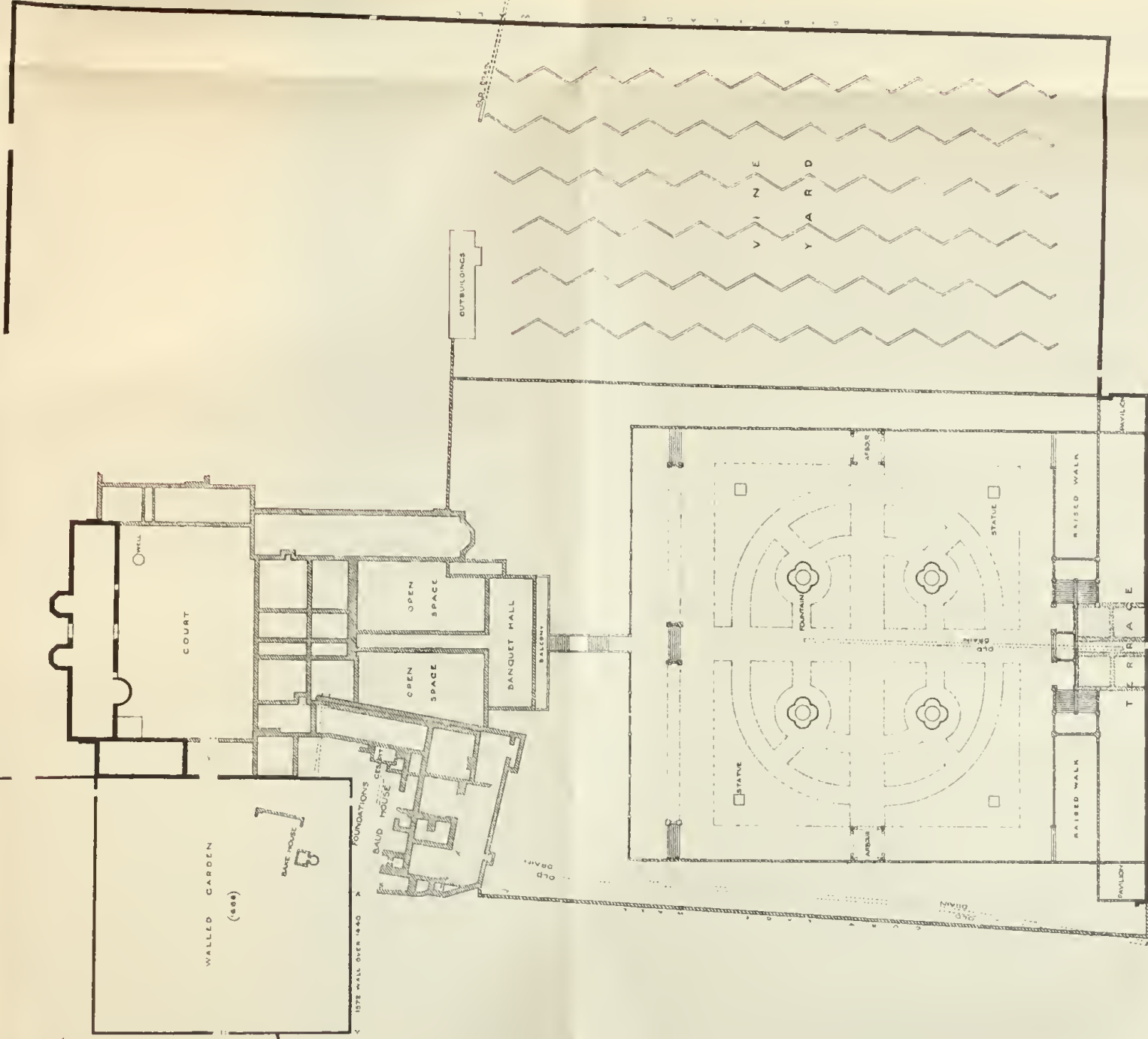
HADHAM HALL

PLAN OF THE OLD BUILDINGS

STILL STANDING SHOWN —
FOUNDATIONS ONLY " —



FISH STEW



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SCALE OF FEET



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